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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts — May 1, 1971, 50 cents

The Two John Lindsays

David K. Shipler

Signals to Mao —*John Osborne*

Why Impeachment —*Richard A. Falk*

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Comment: **Who's Mr. Clean? Tax Break, The FBI Story (II), Busing, The CIA**

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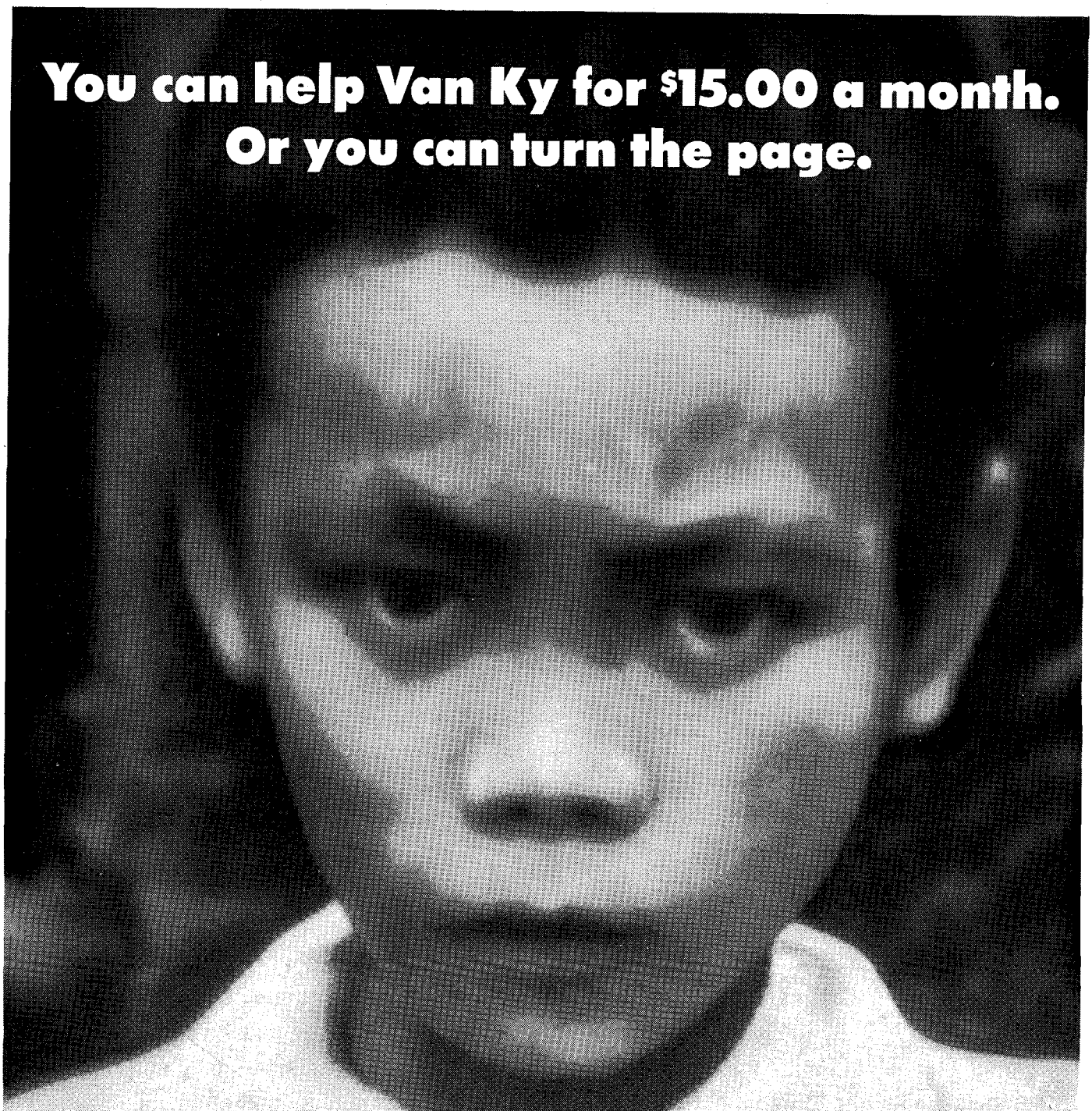

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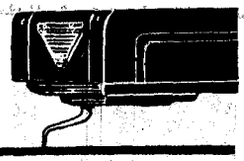

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Out of Joint

We have things upside down in America: the poor subsidize the rich. Take the case of Juan Delacruz. Dr. Robert Nolan told the Senate subcommittee on Health about him the other day. A team of physicians found him sick in a crowded shack in Hidalgo County, Texas. He was just a human discard. He had been a migrant worker since nine and was willing and anxious to work but too weak to do so: no electricity, no refrigeration, nobody to administer the insulin which he had but didn't understand. "After a lifetime of hard work helping to produce our food, we had excluded him from the benefits we make available to everybody else," said Dr. Nolan.

But this isn't a sob-sister story about one hardluck case; this is a practical exploration of American economics and it goes to the heart of the most difficult and emotional issues in the country, the way the poor people subsidize the affluent. This broken-down worker, old at 63, put in a lifetime producing goods for you and me and then at the end we, in effect, chucked him on the ash dump. We avoided the cost of paying health insurance for him, giving him a better education, training him in other skills, or providing those ameliorations that make work worthwhile, housing, parks, beauty. At the end we got a mean little dividend by tossing him aside.

Suppose now we multiply him 24 million times, because that is the number of people in America who live on incomes below the subsistence level, as calculated by the Census Bureau. About 12.5 million of them are on welfare; the balance are too ignorant, or too proud, to get on welfare, or are looking for jobs, or are actually working at low-paid occupations. (The poor with full-time jobs make up about a quarter of those now living below the poverty line.)

And what a nice subsidy these poor people pay the rest of us! They work and then they can be junked. They pay higher taxes in proportion to their income because most taxes are regressive: a Council of Economic Advisers' study showed those with $2000 incomes paid out 44 percent of their income while those with incomes of $15,000 or more paid 38 percent.

Writing in the *NY Times* magazine section, March 7, MIT professor Herbert J. Gans said that this problem is "really at the heart of the American economy." He notes that "the economy can produce relative affluence for perhaps two-thirds of the population because it is free to exclude or underpay the remainder and pass the burden for their upkeep to the government." Of course, if the excluded and underpaid (who are citizens and taxpayers like everyone else) "had to be incorporated into the economy as full members," Gans says, "they would reduce the affluence of the majority." Simple, isn't it? – the poor are subsidizing you and me because to raise their standard of living ours would have to drop a bit. Or, as Gans adds, "if the poor indirectly subsidize the affluent by being kept from participation in the economy, the affluent ought to subsidize the poor in return by income in lieu of work."

This idea seems pretty radical. It is all right to pay farmers for not producing crops, but it is not all right to pay humans for not working, even though tests show most of the unemployed want to work. Compared with other modern countries US taxes are relatively low; furthermore, after we collect the tax money, we spend such a thumping proportion of it for defense that the ratio of income available for health, schools, sanitation, fighting crime, sickness and pollution is relatively small compared to other countries, too. The National Urban Coalition has just published a valuable 350-page paperback, *Counterbudget: Statement on National Priorities* (Praeger, $2.95) with a striking comparative table in it. The authors are not wild men, the group includes James Roche, head of GM., David Rockefeller, head of Chase Manhattan Bank, H. I. Romnes, head of AT&T, besides educators, unionists and politicians. In the US, the table shows, the percentage tax yield available to services after defense is only 18.8 percent; it is 26.7 percent across the border in Canada; 30.9 percent in West Germany; 27 percent in UK; 31.6 percent in France and highest of all, of course, Sweden, 36.8 percent. Granted that these smaller countries don't compete with Soviet Russia in an arms race, or indulge in the status luxury of a Vietnam war, the fact still remains that we in America have the wrong kind of taxes, that fall most heavily on the wrong people (the poor), and that we let the disadvantaged, in effect, subsidize the rest of us by a system of economic deprivation that is so automatic as to be virtually unconscious.

This column has many times praised President Nixon for coming forward with his Family Assistance Program (FAP), which last week he once more announced is his Number One priority, speaking to the Republican governors at Williamsburg. It would provide a cash allowance, however inadequate, based on family size, and would lead inevitably (we think) to an income floor for everybody. A lot of Democrats who didn't propose it when their party was in power now point to its deficiencies. Well, let them do better; Mr. Nixon is the pioneer.

Having said this we have to admit that Mr. Nixon's advocacy of FAP to the GOP conservatives was one of the most exasperating speeches we have ever heard. FAP is a radical proposal. But he is trying to sell it to conservatives by appealing to the profound contempt with which most Americans regard poor people, by implying that welfare workers are lazy, that they must be forced to work ("emptying bedpans" if necessary), yes, and that the plan will ultimately save money. It is discouraging because the basic concept is a noble one and we doubt if it can be sold by ignoble arguments.

Notes: J. Edgar Hoover will quit in the first lull, Washington thinks. . . . Spiro Agnew begins to talk about not running again. . . . There's a huge sale of ping-pong sets. . . . Sen. Eastland got $164,048 for not growing cotton last year. . . . Of 10 million recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children – only one percent are able-bodied, unemployed men, myths to the contrary. . . . The Ky-Thieu election, Oct. 3, will make Americans more eager than ever to quit Vietnam.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 164, No. 18, Issue 2940, May 1, 1971. Published weekly (except the issues of July 31, August 14 and August 28, 1971) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 50c. Yearly subscription $12; Foreign $13; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright© 1971 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D.C. Indexed in Readers' Guide.*

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Who's Mr. Clean?

Earth Week generated a feeling of confidence that now, finally, enough Americans care about saving their environment to make saving their environment a possibility. Senator Gaylord Nelson (D, Wis.), a conservationist before it became fashionable, says that the most important thing that has happened since Earth Day 1970 is that environment has become a part of "the political dialogue." There will be, he predicts, no more elections like that of 1968, in which neither presidential candidate mentioned conservation in any serious way. Earth Week editorials, 1971, had a similar theme. Said one of them: "Perhaps the surest sign that concern for the environment is more than a vogue is that it has become deeply embedded in politics – not in a partisan way but almost as a qualification for office."

It would be wrong, however, to regard the dialogue and a few important but isolated achievements – the defeat of the SST, the banning in some localities of phosphate detergents, the establishment of a new federal Environmental Protection Agency – as proof that the ecology movement has won the day, or at least is on the way to realizing its long-range objectives. As a corrective to that oversanguine thought, Ralph Nader's task force report on water pollution (*Water Wasteland*) published last month contends that after 15 years of federal antipollution activity there is virtually no "evidence that the seven laws passed and more than $3 billion spent by the federal government have reduced the level of pollution in any major body of water"; our remedial efforts have been a "miserable failure." Passing laws, spending money, talking up the environment amount to nothing if – after all is done and said – the air and water remain filthy. When corporations begin to spend substantially more on pollution abatement than they do on advertising their social awareness, talk will seem less cheap. And when elected officials approve and adequately fund tough legislation their rhetoric will be more credible.

But Senator Nelson is right: no officeholder who wants to survive can be indifferent or unfriendly to the crusade for cleanliness. Look, for instance, at the reactions to the two Nader task force reports on air and water pollution, put out a year apart. On May 12, 1970 Nader's Center for the Study of Responsive Law published its comprehensive report on air pollution (*Vanishing Air*). The report up-

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braided Senator Muskie, who had long been identified with the antipollution fight and whose credentials as an environmentalist had been unchallenged. Muskie, the Nader group wrote, should be "stripped of his title as 'Mr. Pollution Control.'" Their charge was that the 1967 Air Quality Act, which he sponsored, had failed to control air pollution and was instead a "license to polluters." Muskie had favored regional air quality standards and a cooperative approach with industry instead of – what Nader preferred – uniform national emission standards. Muskie was furious at the allegation he had worked behind the scenes for legislation that would be satisfactory to industry. He said he appreciated "constructive suggestions from any source, including the Nader report," but he disowned the "dark, secret, conspiratorial" motives the Nader people ascribed to him. That was in 1970.

In its recent report, *Water Wasteland*, the Nader group takes on both Muskie and President Nixon. "One might expect," concludes the report, "that if good water pollution legislation is ever going to be proposed by either Edmund Muskie or Richard Nixon, now would be the time. Unfortunately, the public can only hold out hope that one or the other or both of them will later move on his own or be pushed to a stronger position in the water area than either has taken in his 1971 draft legislation. For were the contest between them ultimately to be decided on the basis of their weak initial entries, the environment would probably turn out to be the real loser." Muskie replied softly he had "reviewed" the report (700 pages) with "interest and anticipation"; he'd found it "revealing and disturbing" and recommended that others in Congress and the Administration "review" it, for it provided an "important challenge." The criticism "of existing programs and pending legislation, including my own bill" was "useful."

William Ruckelshaus, the administrator of Mr. Nixon's Environmental Protection Agency said he, too, appreciated the Nader criticisms and rededicated his agency to "nothing less than the restoration of those waters that have been subjected to the abominable abuse that is chronicled in the Nader report." The impression left by all this cordiality is that Nader, Nixon and Muskie are in the same environmentalist corner, when in fact there are crucial differences between them.

The Nader report, edited by David R. Zwick, a Harvard law student, argues that the ideal water pollution law would take pollution control responsibilities away from the states and deprive bureaucrats of their discretion to enforce pollution abatement. Officials "must be charged with the mandatory legal duty to investigate and issue abatement orders immediately upon receiving notice of a violation, to impose legal sanctions, and to seek criminal sanctions from the . . . courts." Officials who don't do their jobs "should be subject to the same penalties for their conscious nonfeasance as the polluters are for their pollution . . ." Citizens should have the right to sue any polluter directly to achieve compliance with the law. The Environmental Protection Agency should be made "to take an activist public information stance," publishing data on pollution and polluters. Fines assessed against polluters for noncompliance with antipollution laws should be equal to the costs they would have incurred had they complied in the first place. Corporations should not be excused on pleas that remedial measures are economically impractical. The report takes a hard line: if you can't keep clean and stay in business, get out and let someone else try.

The Raiders like some things in both the Nixon and Muskie water pollution proposals, however: for instance, the extension of federal jurisdiction in the Nixon bill to cover intrastate waterways; the requirement of the Muskie bill that all newly constructed industrial facilities install the latest and best pollution control techniques; the precise limiting of effluents in the Nixon bill for each polluter; the Muskie stipulation that employees who report pollution violations be protected from reprisals by employers; the penalty structure in the Nixon bill providing for $25,000-a-day fines for a first offense violation of pollution law; the provision of the Muskie bill allowing the administrator of EPA to bring suits against polluters in federal court, rather than forcing him to depend on the attorney general.

But the Nader report criticizes both Nixon and Muskie for allowing bureaucrats any leeway in deciding when to enforce the law. The report takes specific objection to the phrase recurring throughout the latest draft of the President's bill (but not in the original drafted by EPA) – "taking into account the practicability of compliance." That, say the Raiders, is a loophole through which considerable nonenforcement and noncompliance with the law may pass. Muskie's latest draft bill contains the word "may" where he had originally used the word "shall," in defining the responsibility of the EPA administrator to issue cleanup orders. Nader views any discretion as too much.

The differences in approach are important. The base assumption of the Nader group is that "water pollution exists, in large part, because polluters have more influence over government than do those they 'pollute.' As long as this disproportionate influence persists, so will the pollution." The Nader solution, therefore, is not simply more laws with stiffer penalties and tougher cleanup requirements but laws that have built into them nearly automatic enforcement provisions, thus making "government less susceptible to special interests." But if the Nader analysis of where real power resides is correct (with the polluters), tipping the scales of influence in favor of the public by writing laws less susceptible in their administration to special interests is quite an order.

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The FBI Story (II)

The House Majority Leader, Hale Boggs, claims the FBI keeps watch on congressmen. Senator Muskie has evidence that agents were in the middle of last year's Earth Day rallies. Senator Mansfield is concerned that four conversations between Rep. John Dowdy and an FBI informant were recorded electronically, with the knowledge of J. Edgar Hoover. Senator McGovern calls the FBI the Federal Bureau of Intimidation. Meanwhile, the Bureau goes about its business. Dozens of agents were in the streets April 15 in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, DC and Lewisburg, Pa., dealing out subpoenas to 12 antiwar, antidraft people requiring them to appear before the Harrisburg grand jury that is seeking evidence in an omnibus conspiracy case pitting the US government against John Doe and other unnamed persons. It took ten agents to deliver a subpoena to Claudette Piper, associate national director of Resist, though in the end they needed the help of the Resist office staff: agents hadn't noticed Miss Piper going into the building and had to be alerted to the fact.

But there isn't, as special agent James L. O'Connor wants us to believe, "an agent behind every mailbox." For liberated FBI documents continue to flow out of Philadelphia from the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI to major newspapers and to Resist, and from Resist to an ever wider audience of reporters. The White House statement that "snooping or surveillance of private citizens is totally repugnant to the President and this Administration" is either untrue, or the White House is unfamiliar with the range of FBI informants enlisted for the "surveillance of private citizens." In evidence:

► the secretary to the director of studies at the Quaker Upland Institute (Chester, Pa.) furnishes unspecified information to the Bureau;

► the dean of student affairs, Lincoln University, has his eye on the Black Power movement there for the FBI;

► the secretary of the registrar, Swarthmore College ("an established source who requests that her identity be protected"), gives over the contents of its file on Jacqueline Reuss (daughter of Rep. Henry Reuss) to Mr. Hoover's agents;

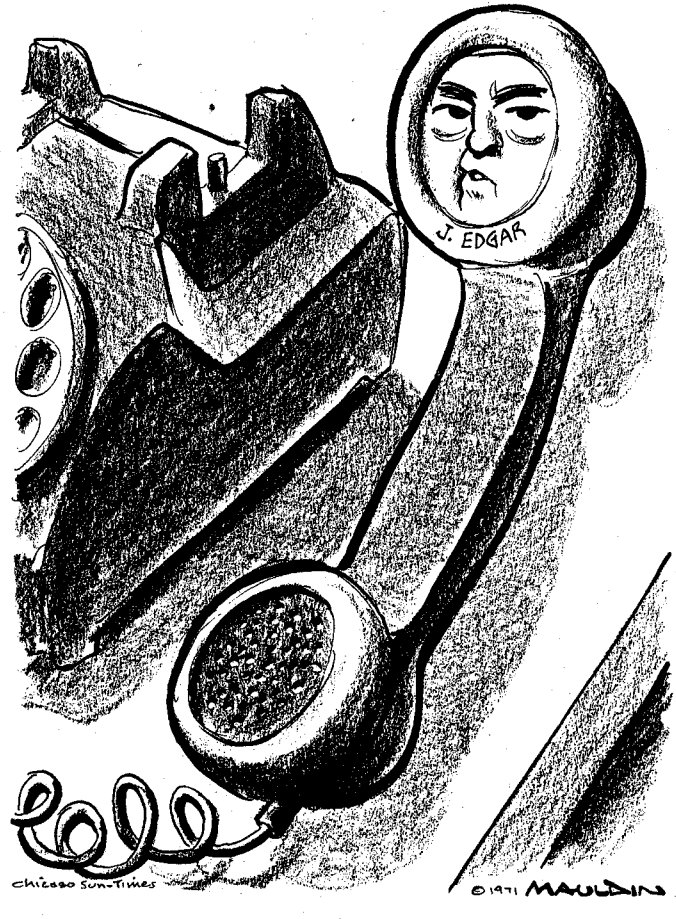
► the assistant chief, Rutgers Campus Patrol ("an established and reliable source [Protect]") provides information and promises to seek more on a Livingston College student and on Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention activities there;

► Brother X of Villanova Monastery reports to the FBI that "a Monastery car had been signed out for the entire week-end, prior to the [Capitol building] bombing to Father" Y – "a sympathizer with the BERIGAN'S [sic] in their recent trial."

► In Philadelphia and elsewhere "each Resident Agent is required to obtain at least one racial informant (ghetto)" in order to keep close watch on and/or identify "individual troublemakers and rabble rousers," "meetings of known or suspected black extremist groups," "criminal individuals and gangs operating in the ghetto areas," "efforts . . . by black extremists to take over such criminal activities as narcotics traffic and the operation of numbers rackets," "Afro-American type bookstores for the purpose of determining if militant extremist literature is available therein and, if so, to identify the owners, operators and clientele of such stores," "efforts by foreign powers to take over the Negro militant movement," and so forth.

The last point gives only a limited sense of the contents of two comprehensive documents that lay out in detail how the FBI is to develop and use ghetto informants – black and white. The documents are complete with the names of bars, restaurants, meeting places, bookstores at which investigation might begin, the kinds of people to cultivate as informants, and the office procedures to be complied with by the FBI in gathering its forces together.

Every resource is to be exploited: "men honorably discharged from the armed services, members of veterans organizations," "friends, relatives or acquaintances" of Bureau employees, "employees and owners



"I only tap people who deserve it."

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of businesses in ghetto areas" including "taverns, liquor stores, drugstores, pawn shops, gun shops, barber shops, janitors of apartment buildings," "persons who frequent ghetto areas on a regular basis such as taxi drivers, salesmen, and distributors of newspapers, food and beverages . . . [and] installment collectors." The gossipy and trivial character of the "intelligence" so gathered is illustrated by one informant's report: "BULF [Black United Liberation Front] is not going to buy a typesetting machine. They are buying an electric typewriter. . . ." "She said the members are fighting and drinking more than ever. . . . BULF is on the verge of breaking up." "She knows Z and W went South and were not able to come back but she didn't know why."

In addition the documents show a great concern for accountability and proper reward: "If an individual RA [Resident Agent] covers only a county which does not encompass any municipality containing a ghetto, so specify by memorandum for 170-6 with a copy of the RA's error folder, so that he will not be charged with failure to perform." "Agents of other squads who develop such informants will, of course, be given full credit." . . . "Any information received from racial informants concerning gambling activities in the Philadelphia area should be directed to Philadelphia file 92-1570 Sub B so that this office might receive credit for any 'handle' from such a gambling operation."

Finally, the FBI looks to the future and the "graduation" of its informants: "The Bureau has also instructed that we immediately ascertain among all Negro informants, including ghetto informants, which informants are planning to enter college this fall and would be in a position to infiltrate black power groups on campuses."

Scholarship anyone?

So it goes: the FBI is setting up a "Squad #3 . . . to be the 'Old Left' desk" and a "Squad #4 . . . to handle 'New Left' matters," sending out a Dow Jones and Company ad/attack on the New Left at Columbia to "educators and administrators who are established sources," mailing it "anonymously to college educators who have shown a reluctance to take decisive action against the 'New Left,'" and counseling its informants that though they "should be privy to everything going on and should rise to the maximum level of their ability in the New Left Movement, they should not become the person who carries the gun, throws the bomb, does the robbery or by some specific violative overt act becomes a deeply involved participant."

Senator Scott thinks that the FBI is all right because it protected him when an Attorney General was scrutinizing his taxes. President Nixon thinks that criticism of Hoover could cause him "to delay his retirement rather than hasten it." But then whose employee is J. Edgar Hoover?

CIA on CIA

"I am the head of the silent service and cannot advertise my wares." – Allen Dulles, 1957.

The American Society of Newspaper Editors was flattered that theirs was the forum chosen by Mr. Richard Helms, director of Central Intelligence and concurrently director of the Central Intelligence Agency, for his first public speech in 10 years. "The quality of foreign intelligence available to the United States in 1971," he told the editors in a self-serving assessment, "is better than it has ever been before." It would have been interesting had Mr. Helms attempted a correlation between value and volume. Benjamin Welles in *The New York Times Sunday Magazine* (April 18, 1971) breaks down the daily mountain of intelligence information as "50 percent from overt sources such as periodicals, 35 percent from electronics [satellites and radio], and the remaining 15 percent from agents." How important is the 15 percent?

Mr. Helms noted the "growing criticism" of CIA, but he avoided any discussion of its cause. The "intelligence" function of the agency is not what has provoked all the controversy. Criticism has centered not on "spying," but on CIA's political action abroad – the suborning of political leaders, labor union officials, scholars, students, journalists and anyone else who can be bought. CIA has been criticized for straying from information gathering onto the path of manipulation of foundations and such organizations as the National Student Association or Radio Free Europe or the AFL-CIO. Through liaison with foreign police and security services, the CIA tries to keep track of foreign "subversives," frequently defined as those who want to depose the government in power. Each report it manages to secure from its clandestine sources has a price in terms of closer alliance with one reactionary regime after another – as in Greece and numerous countries in Asia and Latin America. The complicity is no secret to the host government, or to the Communists, only to the American taxpayer.

Mr. Helms' point that "CIA is not and cannot be its own master" is the most difficult to accept, even from the honorable man that Mr. Helms unquestionably is. To be sure, there is a review system, but it is more shadow than substance. The President's foreign intelligence advisory board, which is supposed to analyze a $4 billion Intelligence program, is characterized by inattention, fatigue and a charming lack of expertise. There is only the most cursory inspection and oversight of CIA by "elements of the Appropriations and Armed Services Committees," which from time to time raise their hands in benediction over any Intelligence presentation. The average congressional "watchdog" is long in the tooth, and prefers not to receive in detail highly classified information, confessing in advance lack of training in sound security

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practices. Such small ad hoc bodies cannot possibly cope with the multi-agencies, their billions of dollars, and their hundreds of thousands of people; in sum, the "Intelligence community." The core question, as with the FBI, is an old one: who guards the guardians?

Tax Break

The principles of nixonomics are not for just anybody. You have to have an extra subtle mind. We began to sense this last year when we failed miserably in our efforts to understand the victory the Nixon administration had won by doubling the unemployment rate without retarding inflation. We are failing again now, just as miserably, in our effort to perceive the wisdom in the Administration's latest economic move: a three billion dollar reduction in taxes for big business.

Viewed simply, without benefit of White House super dialectics, there seem to be several powerful arguments against the reduction. In the first place, the change was accomplished by revising the IRS rules for computing depreciation on business assets. The new rules issued by the Treasury Department permit a sharp acceleration of the depreciation rate in disregard of the estimated useful life of particular assets. The effect will be to diminish the proportion of corporate profits subject to the income tax. Some of us might have supposed that this action was illegal, since an ordinary reading of the Constitution suggests that revenue bills must originate in the House of Representatives and be passed by the Senate, before moving on for presidential action. Yet this new method saves time. Congress had rejected a previous Treasury recommendation for reduced corporate taxes and no doubt would have wanted to discuss this one, possibly at some length, if given the opportunity. The rejected proposal, incidentally, was for a two percent cut in the corporation income tax; the present action, without all that talk, would result in a seven percent reduction.

The new Treasury regulations will cut federal revenue by $3 billion over the fiscal year beginning this July and by $36.8 billion over the next ten years, all for the benefit of business corporations, with the greater rewards going to the bigger ones. The curbstone view of social priorities places such things as improved health care, environmental controls, welfare, urban renewal, education and public service employment high on the list. Last year total federal aid to primary and secondary school education was slightly less than $3 billion, and the amount spent on manpower training and employment services was half that, so the sum going to the corporations is not negligible. But in its greater wisdom the Administration may be thinking of this new subsidy for business as a kind of revenue sharing, a provision of funds that the corporations would have had difficulty raising by themselves, and that will no doubt go for good works, mostly.

There has been considerable talk of the need for pepping up the economy in the light of unemployment that hangs around 6 percent of the labor force, and the painfully slow rise now underway in business activity. A substantial thrust, one might think, could be provided by spending $3 billion on public service employment, some substantial efforts to cleanse our air and water, or similar projects. The money would put men to work directly and also increase the income of families likely to spend all or most of the increment at retail, a segment that has been notably weak. But nixonomics sees it otherwise. With $3 billion more in profits, business corporations will expand their investment, presumably whether their own sales are lagging or not, and this will increase the incomes of everyone, in time. Since such brilliant reasoning has contributed to the spectacular economic successes of the Administration thus far, it is a pity that it was not shared by any of the economic experts who have testified on the subject before the Joint Economic Committee of Congress. All of them expressed doubt that the tax reduction would stimulate investment. Senator Proxmire, who chairs the Joint Economic Committee, seemed to agree with the economists.

So does Senator Muskie, who introduced a bill last week to prohibit the Treasury Department from putting its new regulations on depreciation into effect. Muskie challenges the Treasury action on the basis of its illegality, perversion of priorities, and ineffectiveness as an economic stimulant. A number of other senators have indicated that they, too, lack that subtlety of mind necessary for understanding nixonomics.

Busing

The Supreme Court held, on April 21, that busing, school-pairing, school zoning lines intentionally gerrymandered so as to result in racially mixed student bodies, and even the imposition of an approximate racial quota on each school in a district – all may be employed by federal district judges and by school boards to convert a formerly dual Southern school system into a racially neutral unitary system.

There is nothing startling in this holding. It was implicit in prior decisions, even if not compelled by them. But the Court also went on to break some new ground. It said that district judges and school authorities "should make every effort to achieve the greatest possible degree of actual desegregation" – meaning visible classroom integration. It was still true, the Court remarked, that "the objective is to dismantle the dual school system," rather than to institute racial

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dispersal of school populations so as to achieve a "particular degree of racial balance or mixing." Nevertheless, those in authority have the duty to attain this "maximum possible degree," said the Court, though it left them free to define the possible.

The Supreme Court has given the process of school integration in the South, and particularly in the urban South, a further push beyond what some Courts have been doing, and beyond what the President said he wanted in his statements of March, 1970. And yet the decision is hedged and qualified. It was unanimous, and the opinion by Chief Justice Burger is therefore necessarily a negotiated document looking in more than a single direction.

Thus a Charlotte, NC, decree – in which a district judge reached for a maximum possible degree of racial balance, even imposing a quota on each school in the district – is affirmed, but on the understanding that the racial quotas are merely "a starting point in the process of shaping a remedy, rather than an inflexible requirement"; and on the further understanding that its "predicate" is not only the prior existence in Charlotte of a compulsory dual system, but the total default of the school board "in its acknowledged duty to come forward with an acceptable plan of its own." Maximum possible desegregation must be achieved, but some few for all-black and all-white schools may be retained, if a school board can show "that their racial composition is not the result of present or past discriminatory action" on its part. Measures such as busing, school-pairing, gerrymandered attendance zones and the like are permissible and should be taken in many communities; still, "it must be recognized that there are limits," and these measures will be taken only "in the interim period when remedial adjustments are being made to eliminate the dual school system." At some point, these measures will result in a unitary system, and then, if continuing demographic changes resegregate some schools, there will be no further occasion for judicial intervention, no need "to make year-by-year adjustments of the racial composition of student bodies." Finally and most importantly, the duty to integrate applies only in the South, with its prior de jure dual system, not in areas where de facto racial separation in the schools, though perhaps "a consequence of other types of state action" came about "without any discriminatory actions by the school authorities." The Southern cases the Court was dealing with did not present the question of the constitutionality of de facto racial separation. Therefore, said Chief Justice Burger, the Court was not deciding it, though that very day, on the floor of the Senate, Abe Ribicoff of Connecticut was pointing a scornful finger at his colleague Jacob Javits of New York and arguing that it cannot long remain possible to deal with racial separation in the schools as if it prevailed only in a few backward areas below the Mason-Dixon line.

The Supreme Court has laid down the law of the land, the President's press secretary commented very properly, and we must all now obey it. But the law of the land is a compromise, more directional signal than road map.

One for Thieu

There's a boomlet for the notion that it's not the US government but a new Saigon government that can get us out of Vietnam with minimum risk and least damage to American prestige. So we must make sure that this fall's elections in Vietnam are free, or perhaps tilted slightly to favor candidates who will, on taking office, negotiate with the North. Writing in *The New York Times* of April 20, Chester L. Cooper, formerly with the CIA and the White House and now director of the Institute for Defense Analyses, advances this view: "A highly motivated, popular, non-Communist successor to Thieu who would seek to end the fighting through bilateral negotiations or de facto arrangements would represent a truly 'Vietnamized' solution to the war." Mr. Cooper hopes that "Washington planners are examining the implications and consequences of this salubrious contingency." With the same thought in mind, four former AID officers who resigned their jobs in Vietnam have set up in Washington, DC, a "Vietnam Elections Project," the purpose of which is to persuade Congress to create a commission to monitor the elections, so that the "true" feelings of the Vietnamese people (for peace, not Thieu) can be expressed.

The intentions of these advocates are honorable – in principle, free elections are better than fraudulent elections – but they seem to us to be putting their money, or their hopes, on the wrong horse. How the US defines its national interests in Indochina is up to the US – not any government in Saigon. Moreover, the question of who runs South Vietnam has been answered for at least nine years by a series of power coups; "elections" have been and are likely to be no more than government-run plebiscites. We may like that fact or not like it, but our preference is irrelevant to the choice *we* must make. That choice is not whether Thieu would be better than Ky or Ky better than Big Minh or whether elections have been rigged or not, but when the United States will cut loose. An announced decision by Mr. Nixon to withdraw by a specified time, and completely, would not only set in motion the machinery for prompt release of POWs, but would quickly bring to a boil the real internal forces, both in the North and in the South, permitting some Vietnamese solution to be worked out. To debate what kind of an election we want, or which candidate is best, perpetuates our paralyzing preoccupation with Vietnamese politics.

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Why Impeachment

Writing in *The New Republic* (April 10), Gerald W. Johnson states urbanely that ". . . no level-headed American believes Mr. Nixon guilty of 'bribery, treason, or other high crimes and misdemeanors,' the only constitutional ground for impeachment. The case against him is not suspicion of felony, but demonstrated incompetence. . . ."

I would go further and argue that even a well-founded contention that the President is acting unconstitutionally should not normally induce congressional opponents to propose a bill of impeachment. Presidents are obliged to act on the ambiguous edge of constitutional prerogative, and the courts provide the proper forum for testing a conflict between congressional and presidential views on issues of constitutionality. The recent suit by Congressmen Parren Mitchell, Michael Harrington and Benjamin Rosenthal against the President and other high public officials to enjoin the continued prosecution of an undeclared war in Indochina is a proper and responsible way to raise this grave constitutional issue. One can only hope that the Supreme Court will render a response on the merits regarding the limits of the President's authority in the area of war and peace and not sidestep the issue by determining it to be nonjusticiable or exempt from scrutiny because it raises a "political question." The courts have contributed to the decline of constitutional democracy in America by their refusal to give citizens a forum for redress of grievances in draft resistance and tax refusal cases arising from the Vietnam involvement. There is no inherent difficulty about assessing the constitutional or international law limits of Presidential power to wage war. The Supreme Court has often demonstrated its willingness to deal with such issues; one famous example was the refusal of a majority of the Court to uphold President Truman's seizure of steel mills during the Korean War despite the claim that the seizure was essential for the war.

The case against Mr. Nixon on constitutional grounds is well-founded in my judgment, especially since the repeal of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, but it is quite separate from the case for impeachment. I am proposing impeachment because there exists considerable reason to suspect Mr. Nixon of the commission of "high crimes" having to do with the criminal side of America's continuing military involvement in the Indochina War. It was the United States which led the efforts after World War II to hold German and Japanese leaders individually responsible for war crimes. It was the American position that the principles laid down at Nuremberg were to serve as guidelines for the future. It was the United States which took the initiative in having the General Assembly unanimously endorse the Nuremberg Principles at its first session in 1946. Former General Telford Taylor, America's Chief Counsel at Nuremberg, has recently written that "the integrity of the nation" is "staked" on whether we can apply the Nuremberg Principles to ourselves. And the real test is whether we have the resolve and conviction to apply these principles to our leaders. I submit that those of us who are concerned with the integrity of this nation could find no better place to begin this painful process than by insisting upon the impeachment of Nixon.

In the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials held after World War II there were three separate categories of offenses charged: Crimes against Peace, War Crimes, Crimes against Humanity. There are reasonable grounds for regarding Mr. Nixon as responsible for criminal conduct under each of these three categories. It is also implicit in what I am arguing that the case for impeaching Lyndon Johnson was at least as strong, and that Congress failed to uphold its duties by its failure to do so. But the indulgence of past crimes does not serve as a warrant for present ones.

Crimes against Peace. Mr. Nixon has been, in my judgment and in the judgment of other international law experts, guilty of continuing wars of aggression in Vietnam and Laos and of initiating an aggressive war against Cambodia (1970). The periodic resumption of bombardment against North Vietnam since Nixon took office in situations other than self-defense is a direct violation of the UN Charter prohibition (a duly ratified treaty) against the use of force in international relations except in circumstances of individual or collective self-defense. Mr. Nixon has on a number of occasions authorized and planned American-sustained border-crossing ground and air operations in Indochina where no genuine basis for claiming self-defense existed. The Vietnam war has been, as a result of these American decisions and acts, widened into an Indochina War at great cost in lives and welfare to the populations concerned. In addition, the American role in South Vietnam continues to be one of equipping a dependent regime to wage war against its own population, a further instance of aggressive war. There is no genuine civil war in South Vietnam in the absence of the American presence, and hence it is reasonable to regard the United States as the adversary of South Vietnam disguised by "the cover" of collaboration with the Saigon regime.

It is worth recalling that the Nuremberg Judgment emphasized Crimes against Peace as the fundamental offense: "To initiate a war of aggression, therefore, is not only an international crime; it is the supreme international crime differing only from other war crimes in that it contains within itself the accumulated evil of the whole."

War Crimes. President Nixon has authorized official policies of warfare in Indochina that entail the systematic and massive commission of war crimes.

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Although some of the names of these policies have changed, the tactics and their impacts have not. Specifically Mr. Nixon has relied upon saturation bombing by B-52 bombers against undefended villages and inhabited areas, has employed antipersonnel weapons, toxic chemicals and napalm, continued the Phoenix program, and has approved of various plans involving the forcible transfer of Vietnamese civilians from their homes. These tactics violate basic principles of customary and treaty international law. Most fundamentally these tactics involve the indiscriminate killing and maiming of civilians and the reliance upon weapons that inflict undue pain and suffering.

Recent testimony by American GIs who have fought in Vietnam, the spate of books detailing American war crimes in Vietnam, and the awareness of the issue generated by the Mylai prosecutions serve to put Mr. Nixon on special notice in these regards.

Crimes Against Humanity. The most extreme charge of war crimes in the Indochina context is that of genocide. Such a charge is not made lightly. But the overwhelming evidence suggests that America's war policies have been genocidal in the technical sense of Article II(c) of the Genocide Convention: "Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part."

The waging of large-scale counterinsurgency war in a low-technology society by reliance on high-technology weapons inevitably inflicts on the group "conditions of life calculated to bring about its destruction." This is *not* genocide as practiced by the Nazis against the Jews and other minority groups, but it is a new, technologically determined form of the crime. The fact that the population has numerically increased or that there is no intention to destroy a race as such is irrelevant to the crime. But, indeed, "the mere Gook rule," "the Dink complex," the body-count philosophy, and the routine practice of treating every dead Vietnamese – including the aged, the infirm and the infant – as enemy dead is to confirm a genocidal state of mind underlying our military efforts in Vietnam.

Unlike Lieutenant Calley, Nixon could not be regarded as a scapegoat; the fact that he inherited an ongoing war serves to mitigate his guilt only to some extent. As President, however, Nixon has extended the war to additional countries and has continued to conduct the war in a criminal fashion. The fact that other leaders, most notably Soviet leaders, have also waged aggressive war should not induce a suspension of efforts to impose accountability, where possible, according to the spirit of Nuremberg.

Americans are only beginning to understand that the fundamental challenge posed by our role in Indochina is one of public morality and individual responsibility. This challenge can be dealt with only by drawing firm boundaries to identify the outer limits of permissible conduct. Congress has allowed recent Presidents to overstep constitutional and other limits during the last several administrations. Congress has acquiesced in, even supported, a war that has been disastrous for the peoples of Indochina and the United States. It is disastrous for us, in part, because it has been a criminal enterprise carried on in the name of America. It is time to reverse this attitude of public indifference to criminality. The initiation of impeachment proceedings against the President could signal a moral awakening in this country, a determination to revive that which is best in our tradition and repudiate that which is worst. Such an action, precisely because it will be an occasion for national anguish and confrontation, could be the phoenix that still lies embedded in the ashes of the Indochina War.

Of course, it could be argued that to impose the full moral burden of the war on Mr. Nixon would be as unfair, in its own way, as was the conviction of Calley. I would agree if impeachment were the end of the process by which this nation repudiates the policies underlying the long war. It remains necessary to organize a citizens' commission of inquiry into war crimes that would issue "a white paper" and report specific findings in relation to the top civilian and military leaders over the period of involvement, not for the purpose of punishing the individuals involved, but to help educate and orient public consciousness on matters relating to war crimes.

Some might argue that "international crimes" are not the sort of "high crimes" that the Constitution contemplated as forming the basis of impeachment proceedings. But surely the Constitution is flexible enough to embrace a range of activities that endanger national, even human, survival and have long been reduced to legal form. International law has been developing on this subject over the life of the Constitution, largely, as I have indicated, at American initiative. Our domestic courts since the last century have applied international law to domestic controversies. And the entire rationale of Nuremberg implies that a society has a right, even a duty, to protect itself and the world against the transgressions of its leaders in the area of war and peace.

Mindful of the dangers embodied in the course of action proposed here, I am also mindful of the dangers of averting one's eyes from crime and turning away in silent complacency, whether sullen or exultant. This second set of dangers troubles me more, especially as I confront daily evidence that the war's fury is unabated for the peoples of Indochina and that the White House is as unrepentant as ever about the character and consequences of the war.

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The Nixon Watch

Signals to Mao

On February 1, 1969, his twelfth day in office, Mr. Nixon sent a note to Henry Kissinger. The President said that his assistant for national security affairs should explore every means of developing friendly relations with Communist China and should tell East European Communists with whom Kissinger was in touch that this was a very serious purpose of the new administration. Nothing was said about passing the word to Peking, but that of course was the point.

So began what the President, in this year's edition of his annual foreign policy review, called "the movement toward normal relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China." It has been a slow movement, too slow for those critics who hold that the US and not the Peking government is principally responsible for the hostility that has prevailed since the Communists took over mainland China in 1949. But there is a rationale for the pace of Mr. Nixon's effort to encourage some movement and lately to hasten it a bit. Because the rationale will continue to govern the Administration's actions and responses to Peking's actions, no matter what the critics in Congress and elsewhere may say, it is set forth here as it was explained to me last week at the White House and State Department.

The guiding rule is that the American government should do nothing and propose nothing that could invite an explicit rebuff from Peking. The rule arose from a review of China policy that the President ordered four days after he sent the note to Kissinger and that he discussed with the National Security Council on the following May 15. It was a prescription for minimal disturbance of domestic opinion and for minimal political risk, calling as it did for cautious and minor steps toward accommodation that were no more likely to arouse either opposition or public enthusiasm at home than they were to draw an immediate response from Peking. But something more than that must be said for the rule of caution. It was rooted in a judgment that the Peking government would move on its own initiative to improve relations with the US, or respond to American moves toward that end, only when and if such a move or response was considered in Peking to be absolutely necessary and in the vital interest of the People's Republic. In the view thus adopted, the most that the US should try to accomplish was to convince the Peking Communists that, when and if they deemed a favorable move or response to be in their essential interest, the Nixon administration would welcome any sign that they did and would respond within the limits of what it considered to be American necessities and interest.

There followed, beginning in June of 1969, the gradual relaxations of US curbs upon trade with China and travel to China that preceded Peking's invitation to the American table tennis players and Chou En-lai's remark that "a new page" in Chinese-American relations had been turned. This series of Nixon actions had a rather odd history. A long list of actions that the Administration might take without risking the feared rebuff was completed by an interagency study group on July 17, 1969. It included, at least in outline, all of the gestures that have been made since then, including the ones announced by the President on April 14. The most substantial of these, a partial lifting of the embargo on exports to and imports from China, was based upon a list of nonstrategic export items that was compiled for the President last November. A decision as to the items to be allowed and not allowed for export without special license could have been made and the complex regulations implementing the choices could have been drafted at any time since then. But the choices had not been made and the regulations had not been drafted when Mr. Nixon announced the concessions in principle. Similarly, the regulations that will determine how many dollars can be remitted to China for what purposes, in accordance with another of the latest concessions, had not been thought out and prepared. The bureaucracies at State, Commerce and Treasury were at work on the regulations last week. Until they are completed and approved by the President, nobody can know how much the concessions really amount to.

What they amount to is not, in the White House and State Department view, terribly important. Like the earlier gestures, they are understood to be token actions – signals that the Nixon administration is ready to get down to serious business whenever the Peking government is ready. The important thing, in the Nixon view, is that with its tennis invitation and the admission of a few American correspondents to mainland China the Peking government has signaled back its conclusion, for its own reasons and in its own interest, that a "movement toward normal relations" is in order. By definition, normal relations must in the end require the admission of the People's Republic to the United Nations and diplomatic recognition of the Peking government by the United States. By the generally accepted definition, normal relations in this sense cannot be accomplished until and unless the US is prepared to dump Chiang Kai-shek's "Republic of China" and hand its island home, Taiwan, over to the Chinese Communists. Mr. Nixon is still saying that he will never do that. Peking is still saying that he must. So Mr. Nixon appears to be hooked.

But is he? The hope at the White House, verging upon confident belief, is that he isn't hooked. Or, that, if he is for the moment, the same play of forces and national interest that has led to the current turn toward accommodation will get him off the China hook. Put in simpler fashion than it is put at the White

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House and State Department, the Nixon hope is that the Peking government will be induced and the Taiwan government will be compelled to resolve their seemingly irreconcilable differences and arrive on their own at the "China solution" of China's problem that many critics of the Administration have advocated.

The basic judgment that Peking would move toward accommodation with the United States only when the Chinese Communists consider accommodation to be essential for them enters importantly into the Nixon calculation. If, the official reasoning runs, the Peking government considers accommodation essential enough to seek or welcome it at all, it must be prepared to pay some price for it. A corollary conclusion is that the worst mistake the US government could make at this point would be to offer the accommodation free of charge. This is why the Administration opposes and predictably will continue to oppose such Senate resolutions as George McGovern's, calling upon the Administration to acknowledge forthwith that the People's Republic is "the sole legitimate government of China" and support its admission to the UN. Why not, the Nixon argument goes, wait at least long enough to find out whether Peking, in return for a developing accommodation with the US, may be willing to set aside the Taiwan issue for a while or perhaps (as Sinologist Doak Barnett has suggested) accept a government restricted to Taiwan as an autonomous affiliate of the People's Republic?

The Administration is closer to a drastic alteration of its relationship with and support of the Taiwan government than is commonly realized. At a press conference on January 29, Secretary of State Rogers was asked whether it is "a fair inference" that the Administration no longer considers the Taiwan government to be the legitimate government of all China. Rogers replied that he would not question the inference. In the President's February foreign policy review, the People's Republic is synonymous with "China." Chiang Kai-shek's Republic of China is synonymous only with Taiwan. In the section of the review dealing with China relations, the President said that "while I cannot foretell the ultimate resolution of the differences between Taipei (Taiwan's capital) and Peking, we believe these differences must be resolved by peaceful means." It was Mr. Nixon's coded way of agreeing with Senator McGovern that "the future status of Taiwan" must eventually be left "to a peaceful resolution by the people on both sides of the Taiwan Straits."

At the President's order, Henry Kissinger late last year conducted intensive interagency studies of the issues and problems connected with the diplomatic recognition of the Peking government and with its surely approaching admission to the UN. The studies have been completed. What they recommend and what Mr. Nixon will decide after reviewing the findings is unknown. But the fact that they were ordered is sign enough of the President's recognition that Asia is changing and that US policy must change with it.

Vice President Agnew provided another sign of impending change last week. He griped to a supposedly off-record assemblage of reporters that he was unhappy with and had opposed the trend away from unqualified American support of Taiwan. For the first time since he and Mr. Nixon took office, the White House staff made it known that the President was unhappy with his Vice President's performance.

John Osborne

An Insider's View of the Outsider's Image

The Two John Lindsays

by David K. Shipler

The farther they are from New York City, the more enthusiastically liberal Democrats seem to embrace the carefully cultivated rumors that John Lindsay will shift to the Democratic Party this spring in a bid for the 1972 presidential nomination. The Lindsay for President Committee, which is beginning to solicit contributions and take magazine ads, started not in New York, but in Los Angeles. Democratic leaders in Wisconsin have expressed more interest in a Lindsay candidacy than have Democratic leaders in New York. And the highest praise of John Lindsay these days seems to be coming not from his constituents, but from mayors of other cities, who are counting on his grace and eloquence to help them get revenue sharing through Congress.

The coolness of New York liberals toward their mayor reveals an odd characteristic of John Lindsay: the closer you get to him, the greater your tendency

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to see a double image. For there are two John Lindsays, and New Yorkers have the disconcerting experience of seeing both at once. One is the prince of urban America, the foremost national spokesman for the cities and an eloquent advocate of the poor. This is the dashing, charming, urbane John Lindsay with the flawless liberal credentials (opposition to the Vietnam War since 1965) whose words are carried by the networks and the news magazines across the country to the distant Democrats. There is also John Lindsay the mayor, the administrator, the head of a government with the second largest public budget in the country, and his performance in that role for the last five years usually escaped the networks and the news magazines.

He has traveled a road to the right of his rhetoric. While arguing against the Nixon preventive detention bill, Lindsay has presided over a huge prison system that has interacted with the city Criminal Court – whose judges are now mostly Lindsay appointees – to operate what is in effect one of the nation's largest and cruelest preventive detention systems, most of whose victims are black and Puerto Rican. While he has deplored reliance on force alone to solve the problems of crime, he has ignored his own rhetoric by devoting vast portions of his budget to a rapidly growing police force, and very little to more efficient courts, improved prisons or inmate rehabilitation. While he has stood for purity in government, his top aides screened him from policemen who tried to enlist his help in combating the corruption that riddles New York City's Police Department. While he has become the country's best-known advocate of massive federal aid to cities, his own administration's indecision and inefficiency has left millions of dollars in federal and state funds for New York City unused.

The city faces vast problems beyond Lindsay's control, of course. New York City can impose no tax of its own without approval from the State Legislature in Albany, and the city is enormously dependent on direct federal and state grants to supplement its own revenues. In Albany April 2, the Legislature, dominated by upstate Republicans, slashed the state budget so severely that New York City officials are now saying they may have to lay off as many as 90,000 employes. Yet there are whole areas of policy and performance that do lie within Lindsay's grasp, that do provide measurements of the man.

His administration's inability to spend existing federal and state grants, for example, has given legislators in Albany and Washington ammunition for their fights against increased funds. A $65-million federal Model Cities grant, awarded to New York City in June 1969, is still not exhausted, although the money was meant for only the first year of an attack on the full range of problems in three decaying ghettos. Eight months after the supposed start of this effort, only half a million dollars had been used, mostly for staff salaries in various ghetto offices that were not yet providing any services. At the end of last January, after 19 months, the city had spent only half of its first-year grant. Lindsay quietly delayed his request for more money, asking finally not for a larger grant as he had originally planned, but for another $65-million. The program has yet to offer some of the services ghettos need most, such as narcotics treatment, day-care centers and prisoner rehabilitation.

Two obstacles delayed Model Cities: ghetto politics and city red tape. Lindsay and his aides – afraid of riots and the loss of political support in the slums – did little more than referee the intense power struggles that erupted among antipoverty groups when citizen panels were formed in the ghettos to plan the Model Cities effort. Lindsay's rapport with the poor blacks and Puerto Ricans who flocked around him when he used to walk their hot summer streets proved evanescent when the tough deals had to be made. He made no effective effort to dispel the notion that Model Cities money would be going directly to slum-based antipoverty groups, rather than to city agencies as the law required. Faced with a deadline for the submission of the program plans to Washington, Lindsay finally had to take that hard stand against the antipoverty-dominated ghetto panels. The resulting impasse lasted in two of the three neighborhoods – Harlem and the South Bronx – until months after the progarm was to have begun.

The obstacle of red tape then presented itself, and it proved even more resilient than ghetto politics. Despite Lindsay's efforts to create the impression that he was streamlining city government by hiring such high-priced consultants as the Rand Corporation and McKinsey & Co., the cumbersome bureaucracy has flourished under his administration. In their attempts to get programs operating, Model Cities officials have discovered that it takes the city 71 steps through 10 different agencies to buy equipment such as a sanitation truck. Five agencies have to process pieces of paper through 56 steps before a person can be hired. It takes months and months to lease office space for ghetto programs. Although one aim of Model Cities is to lubricate city government, Lindsay has not moved to cut out steps because they represent intricate checks and balances and controls that guard against scandal, and they are therefore controls that he is not anxious to give up. Scandal makes news that carries across the land, and riots do the same. But nobody in Los Angeles ever hears much about inefficiency in New York City.

And yet the inefficiency has made the city the laughing stock of the state and federal agencies that grant the money for which Lindsay appeals. At the end of fiscal 1970, New York City lost $16 million in special state education funds aimed at improving

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ghetto schools. The money, more than one-third of a state grant, had not been spent by the Lindsay administration for two years, although in that time the Mayor had asked again and again for more state aid to education. Similarly, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare found $15 million in unused Title I education money sitting in a city bank account at the end of 1967, two years after Lindsay took office. City Comptroller Abraham D. Beame reported recently that the city lost over $2 million because the Department of Hospitals had failed to file claims on time for state reimbursement of Medicaid services. The Lindsay administration has built so little public housing for the poor that HUD recently transferred millions of dollars in unused funds to other cities. Despite a Lindsay pledge during his first campaign in 1965 to erect 50,000 low-rent apartments in four years, only 11,777 have been put into construction in five years. Only 6021 of those have been completed, and all except 530 of the completed units were planned by Lindsay's predecessor, Robert F. Wagner. About 135,000 families now living in squalid, decayed tenements are on the waiting list for public housing, and city officials concede there are probably at least 135,000 more in need.

Lindsay refuses to share any responsibility for this poor performance. Whenever he is asked about it, he blames inadequate federal funds and the severe limitations Washington places on the amount per room that can be spent on construction. These are major problems, of course, but they are aggravated by the city's slowness to generate sites, the fact that it takes the city an average of one year to do the appraisals and paperwork necesary for condemning a piece of property and the sluggishness of city agencies that spend more time reviewing a housing design than the architect spends creating it.

Middle-of-the-road Republicans who get angry at Lindsay's rhetoric would probably find his performance fairly acceptable. In Sept. 1967, for instance, Lindsay issued a detailed plan to build 11 public housing projects in white, middle-income neighborhoods throughout the city. It was an attempt to achieve a measure of racial integration. "You cannot breach the walls of the ghetto if you only build within them," Lindsay's plan declared. "Placing all public housing projects in Negro and Puerto Rican neighborhoods would use public funds to reinforce existing patterns of segregation." A similar view was put forth a year later by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, the Riot Commission, of which John Lindsay was vice-chairman. "We believe that Federally aided low and moderate income housing programs must be reoriented so that the major thrust is in nonghetto areas," the commission wrote. But to date, the Lindsay administration has built only one of those 11 projects. A few others have been substituted, bringing the total constructed outside the ghettos to only 2915 of the 11,777 apartments started since Lindsay came into office.

The mayor has commented on the tough political "bloodbaths" that surround the effort to disperse public housing, citing the intense opposition by local residents and politicians as the major obstacle. But Lindsay himself has devoted little of his influence to the purpose. He rarely appears at any meetings of the city's Board of Estimate – the body that usually rejects the pubilc housing sites. Although he is a member, he usually sends an aide, prompting one liberal Democrat who is on the board to complain that if Lindsay would show up and put a hand on a couple of politicians' shoulders and promise them streetlights in Canarsie, more sites would be approved.

Nor has Lindsay followed the Riot Commission's advice to eliminate the underrepresentation of blacks among city policemen. There has been no effective drive to recruit blacks into New York City's Police Department, and despite Lindsay's addition of 5500 policemen to the rosters, only 7 percent of the force is now black, compared with 3.5 percent when he took office five years ago. Other cities have done better, including Washington, DC, where the proportion of blacks on the force is 37 percent.

Lindsay's not-so-liberal instincts emerged again when he was confronted publicly with the welfare hotel problem. For years, his welfare officials have been placing welfare families who had been evicted or burned out or frozen out of their tenements into filthy, crumbling hotels. The children, sometimes crammed in large numbers into tiny rooms, on other occasions scattered far from their parents in rooms throughout the massive buildings, roam the halls with junkies and prostitutes, and sometimes fall to their deaths through faulty doors to open elevator shafts, as 8-year-old Tyrone Holland did last Feb. 21 in the Kimberly Hotel. For this the city pays over $1000 a month in some cases, and it ends up with families even more despairing and disintegrated than before.

Lindsay was aware of this situation, but he took no action until the press began running stories about the problem last fall. In the next three months, he made three separate announcements of "solutions," the most dramatic coming not as a result of families living in squalor, but the day after it was discovered last January that Mrs. Cleola Hainsworth and her four children had been put up for two nights in the plush Waldorf-Astoria. Instantly, before any investigation, Lindsay suspended three employes of his Human Resources Administration. He has never suspended anyone for placing families for months in the horrors that are the city's welfare hotels. Nor did the misery of those families accomplish what the embarassment of the Waldorf episode did. Lindsay ordered a halt to the placing of welfare families in hotels except for "cases of extreme emergency." As with many of the mayor's

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announcements, it looked in retrospect like an effort to govern with mirrors. At the time of Lindsay's order, there were 1110 families in hotels; two months later there were 1160.

Policemen who tried to complain about corruption in the Police Department have found Lindsay inaccessible. Several members of the force with evidence that police – from foot patrolmen to high-ranking officers – were taking millions of dollars a year in bribes from narcotics dealers, gamblers, prostitutes, shopkeepers and businessmen, did manage, once, to get a meeting scheduled with the Mayor. But at the last minute, Lindsay's staff assistant for law enforcement, Jay Kriegel, called it off, telling the policemen to forget it had ever been scheduled. Two policemen also met for three hours on May 30, 1968 with Arnold G. Fraiman – Lindsay's Commissioner of Investigation who is now a State Supreme Court Justice – in his Park Avenue apartment, where they presented evidence that Bronx gamblers were paying policemen $800 to $1000 a month. At first, Fraiman said he would investigate. Two days later he ordered the investigation called off. A year later, without his assistance, a Bronx grand jury indicted eight of the plainclothesmen he had been told about. It is not clear whether Lindsay knew about the corruption and deliberately turned his back on it, or whether he had surrounded himself with aides who have a knack for insulating their boss the way White House aides do.

Lindsay took no action on police corruption until David Burnham, a former assistant director of the President's Crime Commission who now specializes in crime and police coverage for *The New York Times*, wrote a long, carefully documented account, calling the corruption "a massive secret tax on the citizens of New York." Only after Lindsay had learned of the article, which spelled out his aides' refusals to deal with the problem, did he appoint a commission to investigate. The public exposure finally resulted in the resignation of Howard R. Leary, the Police Commissioner. Leary had enjoyed Lindsay's highest praise while he quietly ignored the wrongdoing, and while he remained the only head of a city agency to ignore for 15 months a Lindsay order to all departments to report "all allegations or indications of possible corruption or wrongdoing" to the Department of Investigation. Lindsay aides said privately that they just did not have much power over the police from City Hall, which raises the question of how much power Lindsay would have over the military from the White House.

The mayor's principal response to New York City's rising crime rates has been to cave in to the pressure of the press and the public to strengthen the police, to increase the size of the force so that it now stands at 32,038, without comparable action in the other links of the criminal justice chain – prisoners and the courts. He has disregarded the decades of advice from penologists and criminologists that more police will not cut crime, that the courts must be improved, that prisons must be made more humane, that massive rehabilitation programs must be undertaken for inmates. Speaking before the Republican Party's Committee on Resolutions at the 1968 convention, Lindsay said, "Taken singly or together, the weapons of law enforcement cannot end crime or prevent violence. They cannot because their effectiveness is limited to criminal acts. They do not reach the causes of criminality." And yet the same John Lindsay has drawn a budget this year in which 71.6 percent of the $843 million spent on crime goes to police functions. Only 0.3 percent is spent on prisoner rehabilitation, 0.8 percent on medical and mental health services and 3.7 percent on drug addiction treatment.

As Lindsay hired more policemen, arrests increased. Felony arrests were up 18.1 percent from 1968 to 1969, and 26.7 percent from the first eight months of 1969 to the same period of 1970. Almost nothing was budgeted to enlarge the prisons, however. In April, 1970, Democratic Congressman Edward I. Koch of Greenwich Village sent questionnaires to 907 inmates in the Manhattan Men's House of Detention, known as the Tombs, which revealed that half the prisoners were in cells with three men, although each six-by-seven-foot cubicle was made for one. Nine out of ten prisoners said that they don't have enough soap, nine out of ten had no mattress or blanket during their first few days in the Tombs, nine out of ten said the blankets they had were filthy, four out of ten had seen guards assault inmates. The Tombs had – and still has – about twice as many inmates as it was built for. "On any given day, less than five percent of the department's inmates are receiving any formal education, vocational training or psychiatric services," concluded a recent study by the Criminal Justice Coordinating Council. Most of the inmates are awaiting trial, and therefore presumed innocent, but they are too poor to put up bail, making this, in effect, a huge preventive detention system. Some wait for a year or more. Most are black and Puerto Rican.

In August 1970, the Tombs exploded into riots. In October, it erupted again with three other city prisons. Guards were taken hostage for several days. In a dramatic move, which was given nationwide news coverage, Lindsay went on the radio to give the inmates an ultimatum to free the guards or the police would enter and fight it out. The inmates gave in. But several months later, Lindsay quietly proposed only $2.1-million in his capital budget for prison additions and improvements. It was a budget that reflected the national priorities he has deplored. There was $49-million for highways, but the prison allocation was about the same as that for bus shelters around the city and lighting in a Coney Island subway station.

Although the prisons are directly under Lindsay's control, the city's Criminal Court – whose high bail-

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setting and extraordinary delays are largely responsible for the long pre-trial detention of thousands in the crowded prisons – is less directly accountable to the mayor. He has some leverage, however. He controls the court's budget. And more important, he appoints the judges. Of the 98 Criminal Court judges now sitting, 52 have been appointed by Lindsay for 10-year terms. They are generally low caliber. In a study of the Criminal Court, Harold J. Rothwax, an associate professor at Columbia Law School reported that the Mayor's Committee on the Judiciary "have consciously approved men whom they know to be unqualified." One example, he said, was a man who had been nothing more than a city marshal and an assignment clerk in State Supreme Court. "He had never had a client and had never prepared a memorandum of law. He had been active politically," Rothwax said. "Almost every part of the Criminal Court starts late," Rothwax added, "takes long coffee breaks and prolonged lunch hours and finishes early. Rarely is a part open from 9:30 a.m. to 5 p.m."

Lindsay's remarkable ability to deflect attention from his own performance to his rhetoric was displayed in March, when he commented on the Criminal Justice Coordinating Council's stinging criticism of his administration's record in the prisons, in the courts, in the entire crime field. Noting that he himself was chairman of the council, Lindsay said, "As the Mayor of New York City, I am determined to commit our resources to the fullest, most effective implementation of its recommendations." Two days later, the City Council approved Lindsay's capital budget, with its $2.1 million for prisons and its $49 million for highways.

Report from China—III

Population Care and Control

by Edgar Snow

We are in a small hospital room where we have been conducted by Dr. Lin Ch'iao-chih, an old friend of mine. An abortion is being performed on a smiling patient. The young woman, a factory worker, is under no anaesthesia except two needles painlessly inserted in her ear lobes. This is a new use of acupuncture.

Dr. Lin Chi'iao-chih is the first Chinese woman gynecologist graduated in England and she helped to found modern medical practice in China. "I began as a pediatrician," she says, "but I could not bear to see babies die. So I switched to bringing them to life."

Past retirement age, the diminutive Dr. Lin is as vivacious as ever. An active member of the Chinese Academy of Medicine, and a teacher of one of Peking's colleges of medicine, Dr. Lin still devotes four to six hours a day in her department in the former Peking Union Medical Center. Once China's most advanced hospital and medical college, the Center was built with Rockefeller Foundation support about half a century ago. Since the cultural revolution it is officially called *Fan-Ti I-yuan*, or Anti-Imperialist Hospital. About 60 percent of the doctors, nurses and staff at this hospital are women. In the obstetrics and gynecology department the percentage is 90 percent women. The Anti-Imperialist Medical College students are about equally divided between the sexes.

(US and World copyright, Edgar Snow, 1971)

The patient gives a friendly grin as she grants permission for me to photograph her during the operation. She is 8 weeks pregnant. A small stainless steel tube, clamped with a Number 8 dilator, is attached to a hose which leads to a receptacle and on to compressed air and an electrical pump.

Pressure about equal to the pull of a bicycle pump is adequate, so that in rural areas the device can be activated by foot power. This method of abortion is now in common use down to the rural commune hospital level. (There are about 70,000 communes.)

"It is simple, practically painless, there is no hemorrhage and no severe aftereffects," Dr. Lin explains.

While the operation proceeds I learn from the patient that she has two children and does not want another. Two children are the recommended limit – and age 25 for women and 28 for men are the correct marriage ages. "Recommended" is still far from universal practice, but society now frowns on violations.

"Do you feel any pain?" I ask in Chinese. She smiles and shakes her head. She uses Mao Tse-tung

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Thought, she says. "Fear neither hardship nor death," perhaps. In less than ten minutes she is released from the table.

Not quite convinced, we return to witness another abortion a few days later, on a young woman of 29. She works in an electrical products factory and has one child of six. She has been using a uterine ring contraceptive, she says, but would now turn to the pill. Again, acupuncture is the anaesthesia. Just as cheerful as the first case, she seems unaware of anything happening until she is surprised, when told that it is all done. She sits up and chats a moment.

"I am now entitled to two weeks leave with pay," she says, "but I want to go back to work this afternoon. I feel fine. The shop needs me and we all have to help to fulfill our quota ahead of schedule." Dr. Lin tells her to lie down for half an hour and that she can then go back to work.

Here, an important word of qualification. No one should conclude that abortion is encouraged in China as a substitute for contraceptive measures. On the contrary, it is usually a last resort for mothers of one or more children who have not received or succeeded with contraceptive devices. There are no illegitimate children in China, and abortion is not normally a means of avoiding unmarried motherhood. All children must have two acknowledged parents, who are mutually responsible for the child's care. A few first-pregnancy mothers may seek abortion but they are persuaded against it unless the mother's health is endangered.

Abortions are done free of charge, on the demand of the mother alone. Birth control pills are also distributed gratis. Since 1968 the 22-days pill, developed in China, has increasingly replaced the intrauterine contraceptive and other devices. All medical organizations, mobile units, "barefoot doctors," and army medical teams, distribute control propaganda and the pills, for which the demand exceeds current production.

We next visited a post-delivery room where Dr. Lin paused to pat new mothers on the head. We went on to see their peacefully dozing infants. (Some 90 percent of deliveries in China are by natural childbirth, but in difficult cases acupuncture or other anaesthesia is used.) In another ward we found women convalescing from cancer operations. "Formerly choriocarcinoma – cancer of the uterus – was thought to be inoperable," said Dr. Lin. "Now we use a new treatment known as chemotherapy. We save about 60 percent of the cases even when cancer has spread to the chest and metastasized."

Dr. Lin paused to introduce us to one of the surgeons, Tai Yu-hua, who had herself been cured of choriocarcinoma by chemotherapy. Her uterus had been saved and she had since delivered a healthy baby. Tears came to Dr. Tai's eyes as Dr. Lin explained that her recovery had been partly due to faith healing – faith in Mao Tse-tung. Dr. Tai's baby was called "Strong Constitution." Meaning good health? Not at all. The child was so named in honor of the new constitution adopted by the Ninth Party Congress.

Dr. Lin said that she had volunteered to do rural medical health work and had recently returned from half a year in a commune in Hunan, south of the Yangtze River. She helped to train midwives and "barefoot doctors." A large percentage of urban medical personnel has gone into the interior to practice in farm communes and to teach young "barefoot doctors," right in the villages, to perform services at about the level of trained nurses. They do manual labor alongside the peasants. Their training is paid for by commune brigades and they remain commune members. Said Dr. Lin: "Peasants like barefoot doctors, on the spot, rather than dependence on traveling medical teams or hospitals. Of course we need both, but for minor illnesses and accidents the barefoot doctor is the answer. They are also the chief carriers of education in family planning."

That glimpse into the interior of one hospital reflects two aspects of major change: increased spread and utilization of all practical means of birth control, and a dramatic infusion of urban medical personnel into the countryside – "putting the stress on rural areas." Broadly speaking, four principles are now observed, as laid down by Mao Tse-tung to be guidelines for medical and health workers: 1) put prevention first; 2) serve the needs of workers, peasants and soldiers – wherever they happen to be; 3) combine rural and urban public health measures with medical practice; and 4) unite Chinese traditional therapy (acupuncture and herbal remedies) with western scientific knowledge.

"Prevention first" means far more than family planning, but a further word or two about that. In 1964 Premier Chou En-lai told me that his government hoped to see population growth drop below two percent by 1970. During my recent visit I was authoritatively told that by 1966 the rate actually fell below 2 percent. It shot up again during the cultural revolution. Millions of Red Guards went on "long marches," when the sexes more freely intermingled; many early marriages helped boost the birth rate. With dispersion of the Red Guards, reopening of schools, and restoration of discipline – plus widespread use of the pill – the rate is believed to be again on the decline.

The 22-days pill is free of side-effects, said Dr. Lin;

EDGAR SNOW *recently revisited mainland China to gather information for Western publications, the first American to do so since the cultural revolution. Former correspondent of* Look *magazine, his writings include* The Other Side of the River: Red China Today. *This is the third in a series of reports by Mr. Snow, the first and second ("Talks With Chou En-lai" and "Aftermath of the Cultural Revolution") having appeared in* The New Republic, *March 27 and April 10.*

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it is 100 percent effective if taken daily, but oversight is still far too prevalent. Hence the search continues for an ideal once-a-month pill. Experiments with that kind of pill have been conducted by laboratories all over China since 1969, according to Dr. Lin. In Peking alone 5000 people were involved in a control project which included lab workers, medical personnel and their families. The once-a-month pill now in use is completely effective, said Dr. Lin, except for about two percent whose systems reject it. China is also in touch with world studies and results, particularly in Japan, of the menses-inducing vaginal pill which utilizes prostaglandis. An early breakthrough to a safe and 100 percent once-a-month preventive is foreseen.

"Our experimental group – we call it the Family Planning Fighters Group – is also working on longer-term oral contraceptives," said Dr. Lin. "We are experimenting with a one-in-three-months pill and we now believe we can develop a pill or a vaccine effective for about a year." Tests continue of Chinese herbal compounds as contraceptives for both men and women.

Male sterilization (after two children) is advocated, is free, and is not popular. About 70 percent of women of pregnancy age in Peking use contraceptives and two-thirds of them take the pill. In rural communes surrounding Peking some 40 percent of women of relevant age depend on the pill.

No national statistics on population increase are published and local figures vary considerably. In greater Peking the rate was given as 1.6 percent for 1969, for example, and in a commune near Shanghai it was said to be one percent, while in greater Sian I was given the estimate of three percent. China's population is evidently between 750 and 800 millions, and even a one percent growth would mean a billion by 2000 A.D. Two percent theoretically could add an extra 250 million by the same date!

Figures given to me on current combined national production by Premier Chou En-lai show a comfortable margin in excess of population growth, but Chinese planners would be happier if the human increment could be cut by one percent, which would add that much to per capita production increases. That is their goal for the next decade of sustained effort toward a rapid advance in the rate of national savings and increased production.

Change of scene. We are now in another general hospital which has 2600 beds, 13 departments and handles 3000 outpatients per day. It was built and was originally staffed by Soviet Russians, when it was known as the Friendship Hospital. During the cultural revolution it was renamed Fan-Sui I-yuan, which means Anti-Revisionist Hospital. Before our tour of the wards we sit at a long table with Wang Kuang-chou, a representative of the revolutionary committee of the Public Health Bureau of Peking; two "responsible persons" (meaning committee heads) of the People's Liberation Army propaganda team of the hospital; Chang Wei-shan, a well-known pediatrician and another old friend of mine who was formerly deputy director of the hospital and is now a manual worker at a "poor and middle peasants" brigade in a distant commune (here on a brief leave of absence); and 11 other mixed medical workers and revolutionary committee members.

Wang Kuang-chou, from the Bureau of Public Health, gives some general background facts. The Special Administrative Area of Peking has a population of six million and includes 10 suburban counties. There are 17 large municipal hospitals, and 30 district hospitals, with a total of 29,000 beds, not including beds in communes and factory clinics. The area has 8600 medical college graduates, an increase of 59 percent since 1960, plus about 2000 traditional-medicine doctors. (China *may* now have about 150,000 medical college – six-year-course – graduates and perhaps 400,000 "middle doctors" with two to four years of medical training.

By 1960 most epidemic and contagious diseases had been exterminated or brought under control. Venereal disease disappeared, with mass cooperation following complete suppression of prostitution. Polio, measles, typhoid, etc., are prevented by vaccines and hygienic measures. (Flies and mosquitoes are nearly extinct.) All this I know to be true.

Now Wang Kuang-chou offers facts concerning recent "revolutionary changes":

"In 1965 Chairman Mao said: 'The ministry of health is an urban overlord. In medical and health work put the stress on the rural areas.' We now study and apply Chairman Mao in a living way. In the past three years 3600 of our medical and health workers of Peking have gone to the countryside. We have organized 6000 medical and health workers in 430 mobile health teams, going as far as Szechuan, Yunnan and Inner Mongolia. Our doctors, nurses and cadres share this work in rotation.

"Barefoot doctors in the area number 13,000. They are called 'barefoot' instead of first aid workers because they take part in manual labor just like the peasants. They are of both sexes and their average age is 20. They receive three months training in hospital schools and then return to work for a time in communes under local hospital supervision. They then come back for another three months of training. Minor ailments are treated by them but they take more serious cases to the commune hospitals (280 in the area). Only difficult cases now come to the city hospitals."

Besides training barefoot doctors all hospitals train Red Medical Workers, attached to neighborhood or factory clinics, and PLA (People's Liberation Army) Medical Workers. The Anti-Revisionist Hospital currently was training 41 such youths, for periods of three months.

"Last year 96 medical workers from this hospital

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went to the countryside to settle down and stay. About one-third of our staff is always out, on rotational work in the field. The mobile medical teams have four tasks: to serve the masses in a direct way; to train basic medical personnel; to promote revolutionary thinking among medical workers by living in the same houses as the workers, peasants and soldiers, eating the same food, working their way, studying with them, and criticizing bourgeois ways."

Communes are collectives and from their own welfare funds they provide health insurance for members. In the city, hospitals make health insurance contracts with factories and other organizations, which draw from their welfare funds, also helped by state contributions. Workers pay for their food (20 to 30 cents a day) but hospitalization is free. Members of their families pay half the cost of their hospitalization.

I turn to Chang Wei-shen, visiting down from the countryside, lean, bronzed and greying at the temples. I have known him since I lectured at Yenching (now part of Peking) University more than 30 years ago, when he was a radical student. He was born overseas, studied medicine in the United States, and then returned to work for China. It is years since we met. He still speaks excellent English.

"Lao Chang," I say, "what took you away from Peking?"

"I am one of the 96 medical workers from our hospital who went to the communes to stay. Now I work in a production brigade of the Tsa Yui Peoples Commune, in Ta Hsing County. We have 800 people in the brigade."

"Who sent you there?"

"No one sent me. I asked to go, to integrate with the peasants and to remold my ideology. Before that I was director of the pediatrics department here and deputy director of the hospital. I did not realize I was a reactionary until the cultural revolution. When I worked with mobile medical teams I realized for the first time how much in need of medicine and doctors the peasants are. I went down as a cadre, to do manual labor, but the peasants learned that I was a doctor and they came to me for help.

"At first they called me 'hsien-sheng' or 'elder born,' treating me like an intellectual. They said 'beg' when they asked for treatment. I labored days and nights with them at planting and harvest time. Now they call me 'Lao Chang' (Old Chang) and we are equals. I am very happy with them and determined to spend my life there. I was divorced from politics and the masses in the past. I also did not know acupuncture and traditional medicine. Now I have studied it and found it is very effective for many things. So I have learned a lot. I no longer miss city life. I am training young medical workers where they are needed. There are broad vistas in the countryside."

And his family? They are still in Peking. He comes back to visit them once a month. Perhaps he will be called back to the city again when the new party needs him – and he has trained young people to carry on his work at the brigade. Or his family may move to the country, to join him.

That very fragmentary selection hardly touches upon the many hours of talk I had with doctors, nurses, patients and medical revolutionary committeemen in a dozen cities and 11 communes. It may at least convey some sense or atmosphere of public health work in China, in an era when attention has been turned from the privileged city and its self-centered professionalism, to the fields and the villages of the interior. Some 70 to 80 percent of the people live there – people who brought the Chinese Communists to power.

"The peasants are all wholehearted and enthusiastic supporters of Chairman Mao," said Lao Chang. In the dozen communes we visited I heard nothing to contradict that, but it should not be concluded that they have all become models of socialist man. Mao has no illusions that the peasant soul itself is yet free from a "spontaneous desire to become a capitalist," as he puts it. Something about that, and other commune problems, belongs to a later report.

Early Warning

The President's problem is to make his people see that it can only be a way *out*, not a way farther in [to Indochina]. Even the United States, with all its military power, wealth and good intentions, does not possess the means unilaterally to impose a durable political decision in territory so remote from its homeland, so removed from its vital interests, in violation of international treaty obligations recognized by its allies and enemies alike, in transgression against the United Nations Charter, and manifestly irreconcilable with the sovereign rights and capabilities of a people innocent of aggression against the United States, and determined on independence and national unity. Even if by some miracle Dean Rusk could tomorrow pronounce his benediction over a cease-fire, history's verdict on these irrational political ambitions could only echo Tacitus: "They make a desolation and call it peace." . . . Mr. Johnson's task is to popularize a rollback in reverse without losing political power to the squareheads – an act of legerdemain worthy of a great statesman. And that accomplishment will surely require magic when, as is likely at any armistice conference, Vietnam puts in its claim for reparations as the price of peace – and in sum perhaps as much as the United States has already devoted to war there – and the American people begin to understand how much easier is the way into colonial wars than the way out.

– Edgar Snow, *The New Republic*, Dec. 25, 1965.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Vladimir and Rosa

(Grove)

Saturday Morning

(Columbia)

A new film from Jean-Luc Godard these days is like a message from exile. He is over there, with the rest of the self-exiled, in the Siberia that is physically interwoven with our society yet far remote, waiting for the explosion that he counts on as final justification. Each new film is like a breath on a fuse he believes to be smoldering.

He's trying to free himself of art, of even revolt against art, yet each film betrays at least some traces of – horrid individualist word – talent. Each film shows the longing of an artist for *conclusion*, a particular weakness of artists in political works. In *Le Gai Savoir*, through his two principal actors, he apologizes at the end for what he has been forced to leave out and says that Straub in Germany and Bertolucci in Italy will make the real films for the masses. Two of the most hyperesthetic filmmakers alive! Yet a final torch had to be uplifted. Near the end of this latest film, an actor calls on workers and students and farmers to unite – to begin uniting at once. Why not call on them to become six feet tall and immortal at once?

Yet this new film, *Vladimir and Rosa*, is the most effective agitprop of his post "bourgeois" films that I've seen. (There are several others, including one about Italy and one about Palestine guerrillas, not yet shown here. He says that *Vladimir* is to help pay for the Palestine film.) Godard has forsaken the method of *See You at Mao* and *Sympathy for the Devil* and *Pravda*, which depended in large part on the contrasts of surrealist collage, and is using here what can be called Street Theater with interludes.

The main story is a fantasy-burlesque of the Chicago Conspiracy Trial. I can't explain the title: I can only supply a few facts. Vladimir was Lenin's first name, and there seems to be a voice on the sound track of someone called Vladimir. There is also a person (not a character, really) called Karl Rosa, who gets his name, I assume, from Liebknecht and Luxemburg. (All three historical personages figured in *Pravda*.) Theory-and-practice is supposed to be the theme of this new film, though this is not demonstrated. There are caricatures in it based on Bobby Seale and Judge Hoffman and William Kunstler – called John here, and criticized as a knowing ham. Anne Wiazemsky is also one of the symbolic defendants.

Interludes include a wild TV press conference run by Kunstler; an allegory about Woman's Lib, in which a girl stands behind a man and reads a feminist manifesto while he mouths the words, to prove that the gender of the voice alters the meaning of sexual statements; a sequence in which Godard himself, with a sound engineer, strolls back and forth along a tennis net discussing politics while tennis is being played; a scene in which a man mentions the US, the USSR and Israel, after each of which Godard, in cop's uniform, gives a Nazi salute and says *"Sieg heil!"* then opens his fly and pulls out a night-stick.

That's funny, because it's more than a joke. Some elements of the trial are also funny; like some of the caricature of Judge Hoffman and the jury – only six – who stand throughout and who are about as impassive as judges at a dog show. There is even some humor in the unconcealed cheapness with which the picture is made: most of the trial is shot in close-ups against a piece of cloth tacked on a wall, like TV drama in 1950. The disregard for facsimile is part of the joke.

There is plenty of cinematic hijinks: the images of two fists, with letters on the back of each, coming together to spell a word as they break a ruler on which a message is written; flashes of the Marx Brothers and Brecht; passages of black screen while voices explain the blackness. Yet despite the filmic display, the effect is of Street Theater, explication by acting, by living posters, propagandizing by inviting the audience to laugh at cruelty and dishonesty. Many sections reminded me of films I've seen of plays being performed in North Vietnam villages for the rather lighthearted encouragement of the audience. But one difference here is the absence of communal reliance: in the North Vietnamese plays, the actors are part of the audience and are easy. Here the actors have the frivolity of frenzy.

And the frivolity is inconsistent. Some of the film is undergraduate jape. The criticism of imperialism, both US and Soviet, has all the usual triteness and rhetoric, all the usual sanctification of Mao that depends on our not knowing as much about China as we do about the USSR. The values swing blithely from humane to anti-humane as glibly as ever: a plea for women's rights as human beings is followed by the jocular announcement of the bombing of an El Al plane.

In the spirit of collectivism, the picture has no credits. Yet, paradoxically, it's the Godard film in which he himself appears most often. So much for the anti-cult of personality.

On the whole, though, this is the best recent Godard film I've seen, on the simple negative ground that it's

(Continued on page 34)

Films Worth Seeing

Claire's Knee. French classicism adapted to film in Eric Rohmer's intelligent *pas de quatre* of oblique desire. Beatrice Romand is sixteen and superb.

The Confession. Costa Gavras deals ingeniously but seriously with the Czechoslovak purge trials of 1952.

Buster Keaton Festival. Ten programs. A national treasure. If it's not booked for a local theater, sign a petition.

Little Big Man. Humorous morality tale of a Western trapper who survives to 121, living alternately in white and Indian society. Directed by Arthur Penn, it's Dustin Hoffman's film.

Ramparts of Clay. Life in a Tunisian village. Using (mostly) actual villagers, Jean-Louis Bertucelli has achieved dignity and grace.

Wanda. Triple triumph for Barbara Loden, who wrote and directed and plays the leading role. A small, good work of art about a numbed victim of brutalizing US coal-field life.

SK

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Rap! Rap! Who's There!

The Performing Self: Compositions and Decompositions in the Languages of Contemporary Life by Richard Poirier

(Oxford University Press; $6.50)

Call it afterschlock, or what you will, the Academy is still reverberating from the dynamite effect of the sixties, and Richard Poirier's latest book – a collection of essays written during the past five years – is a remarkable testament to the effect of the Cultural Revolution on the academic temperament. In his earlier work, Poirier consistently demonstrated a Jamesian sensibility, imbibed perhaps from his own exposure to the Master, and his diction still reflects a love of the indirect and discursive rather than the direct and declarative. Such an attitude and a style was perfectly in tune with the academic temper and times of the fifties. Poirier vibrated to a common chord, and emerged editor of the *Partisan Review* and professor of English and chairman of the Federated Departments of English at Rutgers University, receiving the ritualistic (if deserved) applause of Marius Bewley, Mark Schorer, Denis Donoghue, etc., as he wrote in praise of James and Miss Austen, disparagingly of Mark Twain.

But then the Academy became Acadaimonia, and demonstrations of the Dionysian spirit burst in the face of Apollonian apologists like Professor Poirier, who like so many of us undoubtedly discovered that his students no longer vibrated to his dulcimer. The loss can be disconcerting. It is comforting, even rewarding, to have the respect of one's colleagues, but MLAtime comes but once a year, while one must confront one's students every day. One must, that is, if the students bother to come to class, or if they do come, bother to read the *texte* the *explication de* which their teacher daily struggles with for the *édification de* – whom? Hard times, when the best students drift off to protest rallies and rock concerts, or drift back stoned out of their SAT high-score minds to giggle happily at *your* explanation of the ending of *The Ambassadors*.

One does wish, even *need* – in the deepest sense – to establish contact with those good students who are decamping for the departments of sociology, psychology, anthropology, the "Oh, gee!" departments where truth, they are promised by the catalogue, may be found, the metaphoric complicities of Wallace Stevens having somehow been found lacking. Lest, as Professor Poirier warns us, departments of English become like classics departments, reduced to a cluster of frightened courses huddled under someone else's umbrella, they must come out of the temple. Let me give a personal example: in talking of the nature of tragedy in a course on Shakespeare, I happened to ask a slumbering roomful of students if *Bonnie and Clyde* was a tragedy. The class exploded like a McLuhan galaxy. When, an hour later, I tried to bring the discussion back to *King Lear*, the waves of enthusiasm subsided to an ebb tide of gathering books, papers and pencils for immanent departure.

It is very heady stuff, having a classroom full of enthusiasts jabbering back and forth, the sort of thing one remembers from one's own college years. It is very tempting therefore to jump right into the media race, which is along the via media, that is to say the primrose path paved with good intentions. But a running professor, like a running nose, is an undignified thing, even somewhat a contradicton in terms. For what doth our running professor profess? Even if he leadeth in the race, is he not in the position of a man more pursued than pursuing? Moreover, the young, like Robert Lowell's Civil War statue, stay young, while the professor crumbles.

I do not mean all of this to apply to Richard Poirier. Poirier maintains his Jamesian majesty, and does not dance. But he has lengthened his stride perceptibly as he searches out some means by which he can relate the study of English literature to the immediate needs of taste and ethics of his students. Without stooping to "relevance," that old high school saw which the Academy has lately plastered across its gates like a bumper sticker on a Rolls Royce phaeton, Poirier would like to include novels and poems in the media mix of movies, records and TV, which is the kultur of today's kinder. For Poirier is on the side of the Kids, a not unusual thing for those of us who must spend nine or more hours a week in front of them, and his "War Against the Young," published in 1968 (and included in this collection) was an early caveat against the vision in Irving Kristol's ball.

As his title, *The Performing Self*, informs us, Poirier finds in the concept of "performance," a common denominator for novel and poem, none other than our old friend, the self-conscious artist. Not surprisingly Norman Mailer is moved forward to take his place in Poirier's pantheon, with no one removed to give him room. Some displacement occurs, a sort of embarrassed shuffling which results in such a sentence as: "If seen in a line that has Baudelaire on one side and Mailer on the other, Eliot can then be appreciated in a new light: in the light, that is, of his contribution to what might be called the literature of waste." We also find (albeit in another chapter) Poirier confidently discussing the works of Pynchon, Wurlitzer, Barth, Borges, and Iris Murdoch, only occasionally disclaiming that "Distinctions have to be made, however – nowhere in the works of the last three named, not even in the brilliant contrivances of Borges, is there a competitive response equal to the vitality of Joyce or Nabokov" – which last couplet Poirier may be, like Pope, uncomfortable to acknowledge in his later years.

The trouble is that the concept of "performer" is so broad that it can accommodate an entire band marching abreast – to be more specific, *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*. For in his chapter, "Learning from the Beatles" (please note the pedagogic phrase), Poirier turns his sensibilities loose on Rock, and the effect is somewhat like finding an essay on Ragtime in James's *The American Scene*. Where

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James would have been supercilious Poirier is superserious, drawing comparisons between "this album" and "the earlier Beatles" and "something as astonishingly unexpected in its brilliance as *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*" and "earlier Mark Twain." Designed to elevate the subject, such pairing can, in certain cases, result in unintentional mockery.

Superficially, the comparison seems to fit: Mark Twain was the Norman Mailer of his own day, an enfant terrible and performer par excellence, and the Beatles are, together once, now apart, performers' performers. But so are Abbie Hoffman, Cesar Chavez, Truman Capote, Robert (& David) Frost, Richard M. Nixon, Carl Sandburg, Muhammad Ali, Jack Benny, Marilyn Monroe, Richard Brautigan, Tom Wolfe, and the Queen of England. And, God help him, so is the classroom teacher, who is forced in this age of mixed-up media to play the sedulous ape if he is to keep the attention of his students from resembling that glazed doughnut look which commercials impose on people.

I only wish that Poirier had chosen for his title and emphasis that "Literature of Waste" which I quoted above, and which is the title of one of his chapters. It would have been perhaps more useful for Poirier's purposes, because unlike "performance," "waste" has a pertinent ambiguity. When Poirier speaks of "the literature of waste," he means those writings "in which a writer displays not so much an external waste land as the waste which is his own substance," but in his subsequent discussion of Mailer, he reveals that the artistic substance of such a writer is composed largely of another kind of waste, the media dreck "that lay hold of his imagination and thus of his conception of the world and of himself. Pop Art, comic strips, detective fiction, encodings of power like CIA or Mafia." Thus the wasteland of the modern imagination most resembles the city dump.

What we are confronted with is a difference in degree, not kind. American artists in general, particularly novelists, have evinced a democratic tolerance towards the materials of contemporary popular culture from the beginning, resulting in what one might call the upward mobility of trash: The dependency of Cooper, Hawthorne and Melville on the gothic romance, Poe's use of *Blackwood's* stories, Mrs. Stowe's adaptation of Abolitionist tracts, second-hand Byronics, and Sir Walter Schottische types, Mark Twain's dependency on the materials of the Beatle Dime Novels, Stephen Crane's borrowing from popular writings on the Civil War, Dreiser's fascination with Horatio Alger novels, and (even) Henry James's early attraction to the themes and imagery of adventure stories. But trash per se is not enough; it must be welded and glued together by a discriminating eye. The dump must be picked.

Always we come back to the question of aesthetics, which is after all an elitist system of values. It simply will not do merely to declare that "It will seem pretentious only to the vested to say that Eliot and Joyce are . . . precursors of the later Beatles." Eliot and Joyce set up such contexts as serious criticism of the quality of modern life, and dead myths resurrected in a wasteland of emptiness. But the Beatles' art of montage seldom transcended decoration, like the record jacket of *Sgt. Pepper* (also discussed by Poirier), mildly satiric, pungent, witty, joyful, happy, zippy, oh-wowsy, but eminently throwawayable. Pop Art is well named, for once the contemporary effervescence departs, what you are left with is a stale sweetness. To get the "pop" you gotta have the fizz, but as soon as the bottle is opened, it begins to leave. Even now, only four years after Poirier wrote it, to speak of "the allusiveness which makes the Sgt. Pepper album so classical in its chaste and witty nostalgia" seems silly.

What most amazes is to find someone like Poirier, early on a firm devotee at the altar of the Master, James, the Great Snob Himself, yielding to the pressure of the classroom. It is a demonstration surely of the extent to which the Cultural Revolution has affected the Academy, but it also demonstrates something else of equal interest. In "Against the Young," Poirier describes his own background as a contrast to today's youth, his unquestioning service in the US Army, his easy acceptance of the Fascists as his "enemy," and then his taking advantage of the GI Bill "to make up for lost personal time at the university." Along with millions of others, Poirier went back to college at government expense, and with thousands of others, was by virtue of the GI Bill allowed "into the academic profession," there, as in college, "poignantly anxious to take advantage of an opportunity they never thought available, much less a right." These new academics were a new breed, and were to a large extent responsible for the direction which the University has over the last few decades been moving. Middle-class for the most part, they infused the Academy with the spirit of professional ambition; accepting without question the reigning school of criticism, the New Criticism, they used it as a tool not only of enlightenment but of elevation. A lantern but also a ladder.

Many of them have now climbed to the top of that ladder only to find it crumbling underneath them. Unlike their predecessors in the Academy, those crusty old WASPs whom they struggled to displace, the new professors lacked an aristocratic, classics-oriented tradition, something firm to put one's back against when attacked. All they had was their ladder, which is not much protection or a refuge. Many of them had accepted a Jamesian aesthetics without a thought as to its elitist basis, and when during the sixties their whole system was called to question, few had any meaningful responses. Some responded in fury, some with silence, and a few, like Richard Poirier, began to build themselves a new ladder with what was useful of the old. Those bits and pieces are discernible in *The Performing Self*, which I think can be regarded as a transition piece, a working out of problems by means of tentative not conclusive solutions. Poirier's willingness to start anew should earn our admiration and attention.

The Performing Self seems to me therefore an important work, even its weaknesses reflecting the strength of intelligent inquiry which one has come to expect and received in the past from Richard Poirier. He is here as elsewhere an aperçuant, who seems to write as he wanders, and it is a pleasure as well as a challenge to follow him wherever he goes. All of us engaged in teaching English literature can benefit from his attempts to sink to the occasion of the seventies.

John Seelye

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Reality Is the Media

The Information Machines: Their Impact on Men and the Media by Ben H. Bagdikian

(Harper & Row; $8.95)

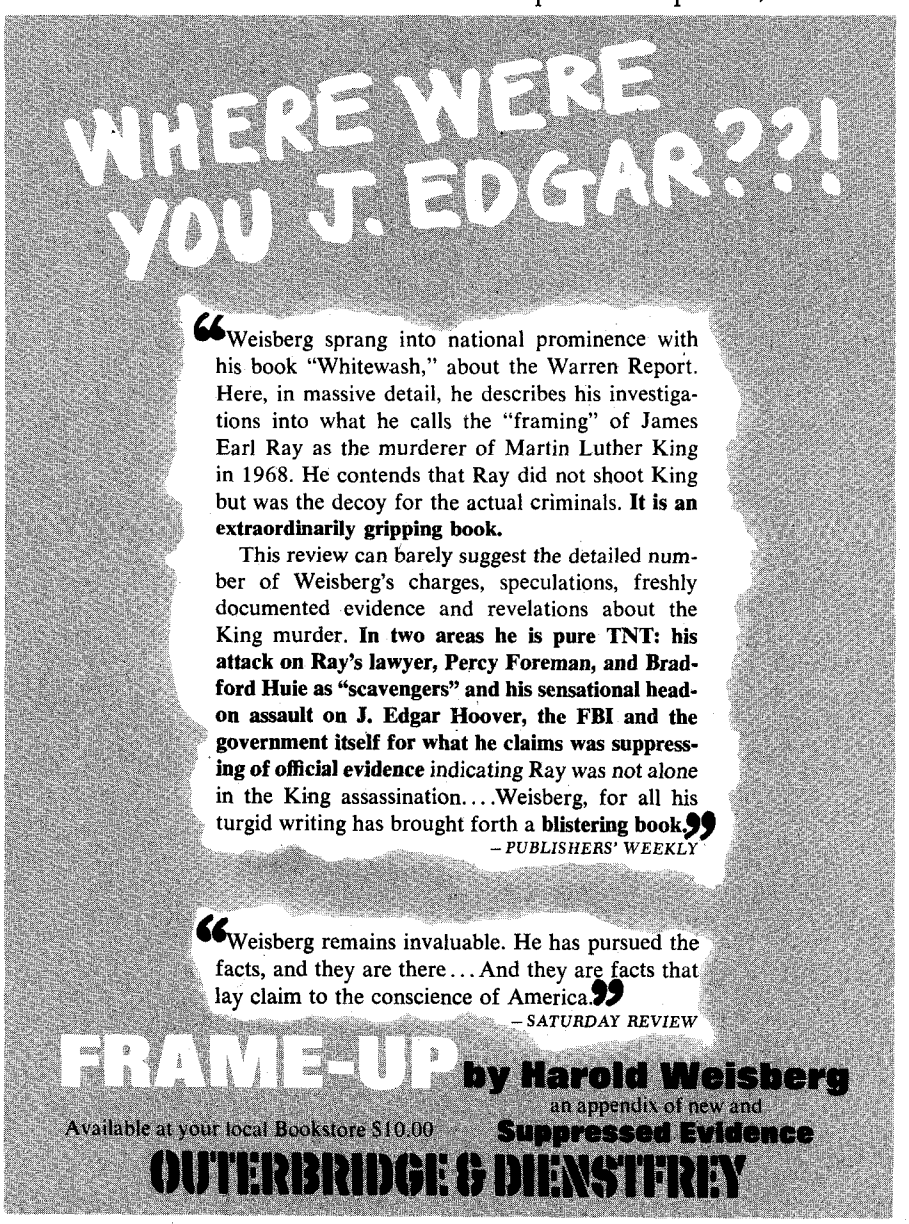
Early in this book, which is copyrighted by RAND Corp. and incorporates a number of research projects done by it, Ben Bagdikian observes that "if daily news were just another household commodity, like potatoes, thinking about its future would not lead so quickly to a concern with the evolution of American society."

Well, a good case can be made for considering the news to be no more exotic or important than potatoes, and possibly less depending upon one's intellectual and physiological appetite; newspapers are still useful for wrapping fish, as an elderly gentleman at journalism school would remind us when self-importance caused craft to suffer. But then this old-fashioned attitude, informed with an understanding of the limits of the journalistic – and any other professional – enterprise, would deflate the pretensions of this book and those journalists and editors who might solemnly agree with Bagdikian that "for most of the people of the world, for most of the events in the world, what the news systems do not transmit did not happen. To that extent, the world and its inhabitants are what the news media say they are."

This self-serving delusion has its uses at trade banquets and awards dinners and efforts to convince youngsters to study journalism, but as a species of intellectual deception it is deadly for serious social science inquiry. It would have been better if Bagdikian, a working newspaperman, had glued himself to the facts and let his concern with that absorbing abstraction called society be the province of others better trained to penetrate the mysteries of relating it to reality; by mixing the two he has produced another tedious condemnation of middle-class American society and rendered useless his discussion of an important public policy problem that deserves the most sensitive and informed opinion.

The problem is the one that the FCC and others are beginning to peer into, of how cable television franchises are to be dispensed, by whom and under what regulatory burdens, to whom and for what purposes in most metropolitan areas of the nation. Bagdikian makes plain the vast potential of cable transmission of all existing commercial and noncommercial television and a host of specialized communication; some cables can now carry over 40 channels into home and office and ones of 100 channels are feasible. "The home cable connected to the computer eventually will be as important to urban man as the telephone," he states and he speculates endlessly about how such equipment, linked to facsimile and other reproduction devices – the "information machines" of the title – will affect ways people communicate and do business.

"The wisest policy," Bagdikian states, "would seem to be establishment of cable television as a common carrier, like the telephone and telegraph system, the owners and operators guaranteed a local monopoly on condition that they meet minimum standards of service, which would include a large number of channels usable at reasonable rates . . . available to all members of the public on an equitable basis." It would be "natural" for the telephone company to do this since it would permit compatible devices, costly to develop and mass produce, to be rent-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This review can barely suggest the detailed number of Weisberg's charges, speculations, freshly documented evidence and revelations about the King murder. In two areas he is pure TNT: his attack on Ray's lawyer, Percy Foreman, and Bradford Huie as "scavengers" and his sensational head-on assault on J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI and the government itself for what he claims was suppressing of official evidence indicating Ray was not alone in the King assassination....Weisberg, for all his turgid writing has brought forth a blistering book."
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ed to consumers (like telephones) in any given locality. And this would open up, for a relatively low fee, opportunities for civic groups, local broadcasters and special interests of all kinds to discover their own audiences and create diversity and competition that does not now exist.

This is an interesting argument, but it is not accompanied by hard facts about costs and economic feasibility and considered speculation about how a city like New York or Los Angeles might be wired or even what AT & T thinks of the idea; certainly the availability of UHF channels has not brought about that diversity and excellence which mere availability of programming outlets supposedly would lead one to expect. Unfortunately, Bagdikian is his own worst enemy in the quest for entirely laudable and unobjectionable goals; much of the book condemns governmental regulation as blind to "the public interest" and Bagdikian offers no hope that there is anyone in power anywhere who might be trusted to determine who gets those local monopolies, what constitutes "minimum standards of service," "reasonable rates" or any of the real and hard problems politicians and administrators must solve.

Indeed, the book is a lengthy argument that genius of an exceedingly high order or at least a revolution in values, institutions and perceptions is required – that Reichian greening process so fashionable these days – before "the weakness and dangers of the present media" are cured and the new technology of mass communication will flower for good, truth and beauty. Not the mass of Americans, who much prefer "entertainment" to "serious" news; not the existing market economy and corporate management, which elevate greed and tastelessness; and not the existing political and public regulatory instruments can be relied upon. Together they form "the dominant popular culture of the United States," the real target of Bagdikian's anxious contemplation of the media. The one useful aspect of his fatuous belief that social reality and what the media transmit are synonymous is that it makes it easy to belabor at the same time the fictitious "system" of mass communication and a monolithic and equally fictitious mass society, and thus give some coherence to an otherwise pointless potpourri that includes a quick history of print, the development of radio and television networks, some interesting data on the profits and economics of daily newspapers and a great deal of trivia. What is missing is any effort to comprehend the increasing differentiation and diversity in American society and in the means by which Americans inform themselves about events and their meaning.

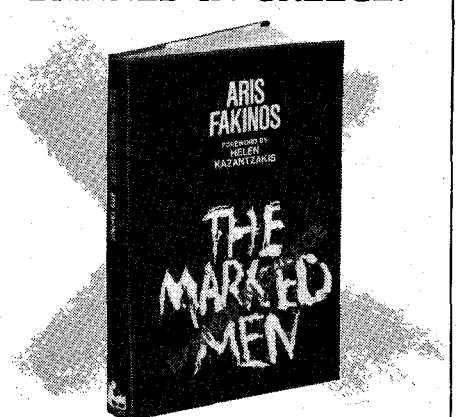
Middle-class values and preferences (those one can detect in prime-time programming and the dictates of the market economy working upon broadcasters and publishers) are popular targets and Bagdikian rehashes every cliché uttered about them, such as "the selling of deodorants and detergents should not be the primary goal of the most powerful communications instrument in American society" or "thus, three organizations, and sometimes three men, decide what 70 percent of the American population will see on television." Such remarks can depress anyone who appreciates a critical intelligence and precision of thought and language. Almost every effort at profundity Bagdikian makes contains more questions than he suspects or will cope with. What, for example, is the *secondary* "goal" of television? How would the human tongue and brain rate among "powerful communications instruments"?

To be sure, Bagdikian does offer a specific solution to our problems although it may have little meaning except to those trained to interpret think-tank gobbledegook. "Needed now," Bagdikian states, "is a public communications policy designed to fill the informational needs of the American public for the rest of this century, and regulatory rules that reward those corporations that play a role in filling these needs."

I think this means that there should be more studies and that RAND is the outfit to make them. For a suitable fee.

Jerome Zukosky

BANNED IN GREECE!



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FOREWORD BY **HELEN KAZANTZAKIS**

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LIVERIGHT

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Speechless Page after Page

Surviving the 70's
by Benjamin Demott

(E. P. Dutton; $5.95)

In the foreword to *Surviving the 70's* Benjamin DeMott makes a very strange observation, the first of a number of strange elements that unsettle the mind as one reads the book and then set one tracking back through Mr. DeMott's lengthening career as critic of US culture and life forms. He pictures himself standing back in stunned awe from the changes in thought and feeling of the past few years, and he says, "You wake up on the morning of a

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new decade resolved to explain to yourself as clearly as you can what happened during the ten-year night before and you can't say a word."

This is where the strangeness starts, with this perplexity on his part, plus a determination to sit down and sort it all out, to uncover the pattern that has been growing during the ten-year sleep of reason. Because *he* hasn't been asleep, far from it. He has been in there punching for the last ten years, with three books of essays to his credit, bearing descriptive subtitles like "a report on American minds, matters and possibilities" (*Hells & Benefits*), "studies of modern American inhibitions" (*You Don't Say*), and "essays and reports on imagination in America" (*Supergrow*). This man hasn't been idle.

And it wasn't just a lot of fancy footwork over in the corner of the gym. He was out there under the lights, where the scene was clear and he could be seen clearly. No shadow boxing, but solid opponents who could hit back. Marshall McLuhan, the effect of television on the creative imagination of its writers, student protest, the Playboy philosophy, rock music, Jewish writers in America, and the merits of homosexual writers. This partial roster says that he is serious, that he ranges wide, that he isn't going through the American experience with his eyes closed. He knows what's going on.

He has also ventured out onto the frontiers in those ten years, recording sympathy and understanding for unpopular people and causes. The texts prove it over and over, as in this typical encomium, in *Supergrow*, for homosexual writers: "With a few other poets and dramatists, they are the only compelling writers of the period who seem to know anything beyond the level of cliché about human connectedness, whose minds break through the stereotypes into recognizable truths and intricacies of contemporary feeling."

And along with the texts there are the reviewers from the left, underground, and out in the radical fields who have no trouble praising this securely installed member of the Establishment, a twenty-year veteran of the English Department at Amherst College. The likes of Nat Hentoff, for example, and a sheet called *Nightsounds* that called *Supergrow* "one of the year's most important books."

At the same time the squares also

A young political scientist explores the meaning and the potential of the American student movement

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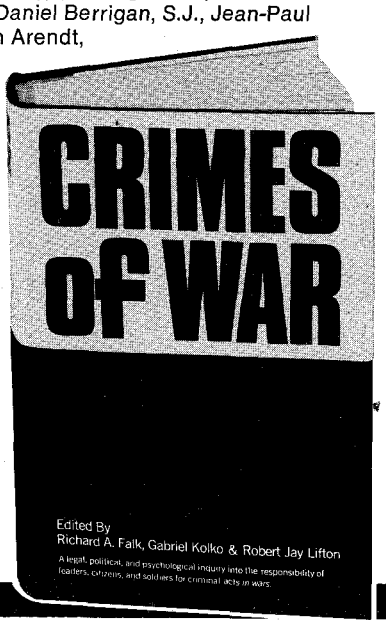
CRIMES of WAR
Edited By
Richard A. Falk, Gabriel Kolko & Robert Jay Lifton
A legal, political, and psychological inquiry into the responsibility of leaders, citizens, and soldiers for criminal acts in wars.

(Richard A. Falk is the author of the new book THIS ENDANGERED PLANET. $8.95)

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say they can get along with DeMott the essayist. *Saturday Review* called him an "American Herbert Read . . . a twentieth-century Renaissance man" and *The New York Times Book Review* sent up a few rockets of its own. The consensus seems to be that here is a writer who can be fair to both sides in a discussion, who won't stoop to invective or ad hominem jabs, who keeps his voice low, his arguments under control, and hasn't given up on the arts of civil discourse. He comes through as independent, nonpartisan.

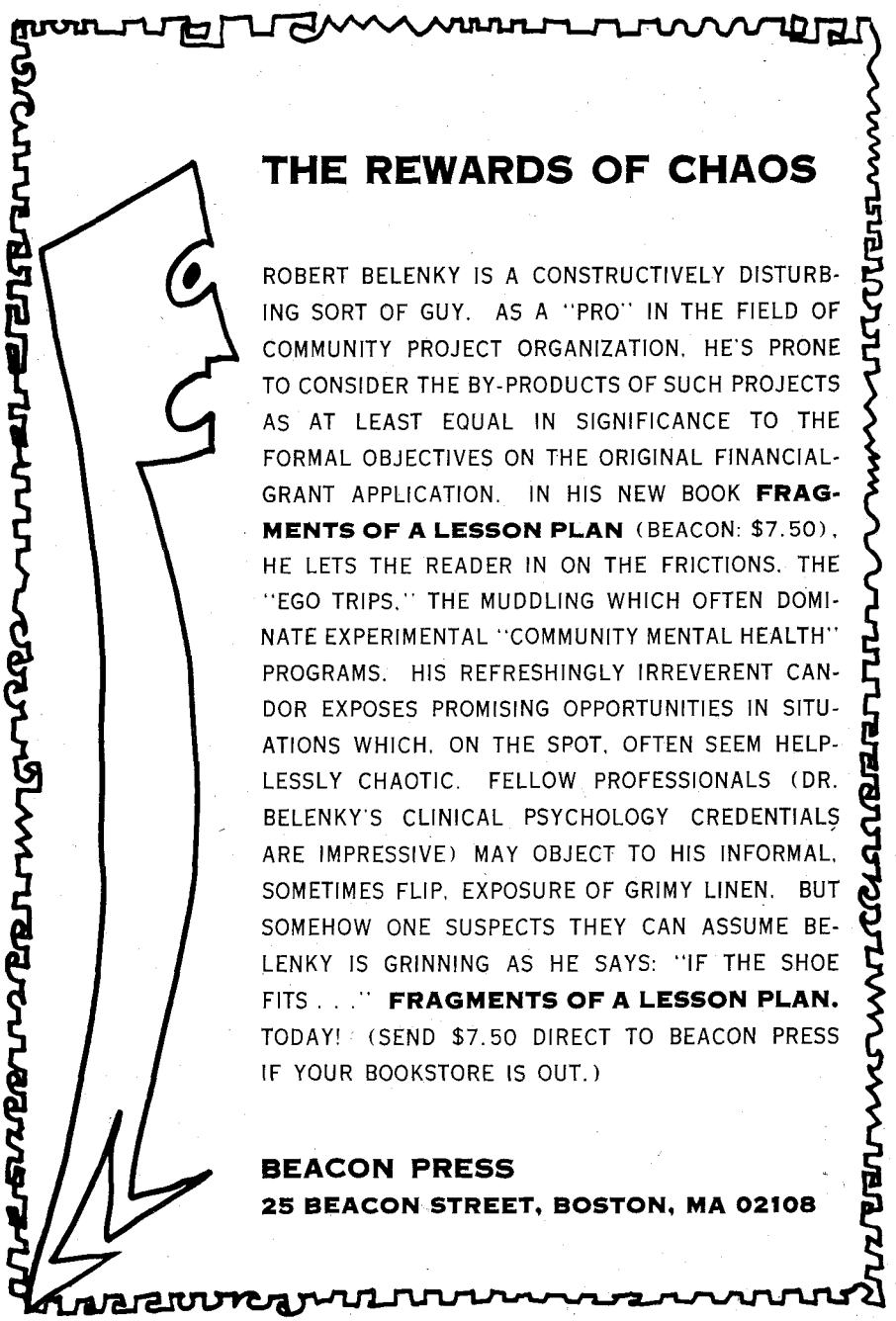
How does he seed such broad appeal? The complete answer is in the books, but certain phrases from their forewords illuminate. In *Hells & Benefits* he says it's a "recovery of the imagination of possibility" that counts. He calls for a "flexible, complicated – and humorous – understanding of the meaning and bearings of inhibition" in *You Don't Say. Supergrow* builds on a plea for a wider use of "imagination," and the current book seeks a balance somewhere between the "problems and opportunities" of Openness, one of the prime new beatitudes he identifies.

The main trunk of these themes is plainly visible. The books, singly and together, develop an appeal for us all to refuse to be pinned down, an appeal for us to open up and out, to see other sides and other ways, to be unafraid of differences, to take as an axiom that there is always more to be seen, heard, imagined, learned and understood than we are likely to get on the first try. "Variousness" is perhaps Mr. DeMott's favorite word.

Yet there are snares to variousness he is not so skillful at dodging. Look at his method first, extracted from its practical application. He starts out by making the strongest possible case for some unorthodoxy. He explains it (it may be Fem Lib, hip greeting cards, free-fall parachuting, campus revolt, the Masters and Johnson sex lab, so many of the extravaganzas and fantasies of contemporary life), puts it in its historical and psychological contexts, defends convincingly its contribution to intellectual and/or moral enlightenment. He appears to be handing it over like a father offering his daughter to the waiting bridegroom. Take her: I approve.

But not entirely. The counter moves are about to begin. He points out the blemishes. The girl limps. She has a walleye. Her breasts are flat, her breath is sour. Are you sure you want her? The poor guy about to accept the beauty gasps. He feels betrayed, tricked into a false agreement. What are you doing to me? he cries. One wants to reassure him. Relief is on the way. There was no deception, no mistake, the father says. Your trust wasn't misplaced. I wanted to show you that you were attracted by the wrong features. The flaws are unimportant. Take a second look, in this light. See these durable qualities that you missed before. And after naming them and showing forth their unexpected value, he blesses the marriage. Go in peace. Be not afraid of the new and unfamiliar.

Well, the disguise shouldn't hide from anyone that Mr. DeMott is handling a philosophical method with a long, honorable ancestry. Without it the Platonic dialogues are crumbling heaps of words and Thomas Aquinas couldn't have knit the errors of heretics into his seamless exposition of the Christian faith. Hegel gave it to us free and clear: dialectic, opposing ideas set in conflict to produce a synthesis from their contradiction. The pitch is up: the mind ascends: the range of vision grows. Everyone who thinks is in-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Notes on Contributors

Robert Ostermann *has written articles and children's stories and is currently working on a novel.* John Seelye *teaches English at The University of Connecticut.* Jerome Zukosky *does freelance writing on urban affairs and currently has a grant for study of state and local governments.*

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debted to the first person who consciously realized that something exciting and wonderful happens when you bang challenging ideas head on.

That's the game Mr. DeMott is playing. But something happens. Or, rather, something doesn't happen. No synthesis occurs. When a philosopher (that's the office Benjamin DeMott aspires to) sets up a dialectical system, the conflict of ideas must be creative, must generate something new – ideas, programs, whatever – something that wasn't there before.

Not here. The intellectual status quo remains unchanged at the end of a DeMott essay. Conclusions are inflated to global generality, and float off like gassy balloons without an anchor. Fem Lib shouldn't be mocked; it puts an "edge" on marriage, keeps it sharp. In the chutist's drop through the "wordless clouds no problem is solved." To be sure, mod greeting cards constitute a revolution in taste and feeling but "the words spin, the world swings." The sex lab has brought us "out from a valley of deprivation into a valley of abstraction."

The 54-page piece that concludes *Surviving the 70's* wraps it up in style – DeMott style. The flow of sympathy between polar ideas is swift, energetic. In repeated confrontations the student radicals and the Amherst administration represented by President Calvin Plimpton test each other out: synthesis and antithesis. There emerges the unexceptionable exhortation to move imaginatively inside the lives of others, to experience their realities, so that both "our conserving and our reforming selves may be nourished." It is so juiceless, level-headed, stationary.

Reflecting on the four collections of essays, one feels sadness and disappointment. Repeatedly one expects the promised transformation to occur. No such luck. When it's all over, the bride still limps, is walleyed, flat and unkissable, and one is convinced that, no matter the hints at superior qualities, she isn't worth taking home to bed.

Robert Ostermann

Television

Is CBS the Underdog?

In my bones I can feel the martyrdom of CBS coming on like rickets, and in the scenario for that feeling it is the government prosecutor who recommends that the corpus of CBS be strung up by the heels and put in a deep freeze until after November, '72.

Then the defense attorney rises and reads long passages from a bad new book by Walter Cronkite (*The Challenges of Change*, Public Affairs Press, $3.95). The book has nothing to do with the CBS show, *The Selling of the Pentagon*, nor with the celebrated subpoenaing by a House subcommittee of the show's documentation; it is a collection of aging Rotary Club speeches by Walter; but it contains just what the defense wants and has in effect been using ever since the Pentagon show ran into what CBS obviously thinks is a manifestation of Big Brother: pleas for freedom of the press, free enterprise, minimal controls, reasonable profits; assertion of faith in human dignity and honesty, faith even in advertisers (no pressures from *them*), distrust of big government, distrust of FCC government, distrust of secrecy in government. Above all, the press as loyal opposition and journalists as embattled souls.

Noble imagery from stem to stern. Wilt, Big Brother.

But it was Walter's colleague Eric Sevareid who last week on the CBS nightly news show talked of power rather than freedom. With heavy irony he first described how patronizingly the newspaper press has traditionally treated news broadcasters, then noted that the fierce Washington reaction to the CBS Pentagon show had produced a uniformly sympathetic response in the papers. Significance? – papers and tube were in fair way to joining forces at last. Forces, not ideals.

I don't want to put words in Eric's mouth lest *his* committee get after *me*, but the drift was clear: boys, they are playing rough down there in Wash-

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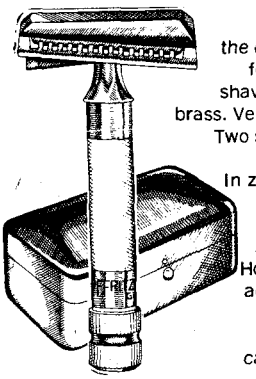

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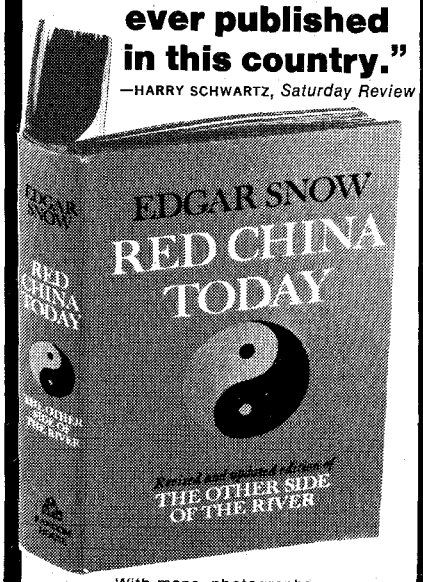

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ington but we can play rough too.

Indeed both these honorable speechifying armies – Washington and the press – can play rough. Don't let us kid ourselves, there is a power struggle here so big it's hard to see the whole thing, and the noble imagery is certainly helping to obscure it. The broadcasters even by themselves are far from being small embattled private souls fighting Big Brother. Put them together with the newspaper and magazine press and you have, potentially, a war to determine *which* is Big Brother.

Does such a nasty un-Jeffersonian thought ever cross a freedom-loving media mind? You can bet it does. We are coming down to the wire now about the war and the Nixon administration. There's a year and a half of bitterness and crud ahead, during which – such is now the legacy of hard feeling from the war – we can hardly expect a clean blow to be struck. Maybe the misery will be less for those who feel righteous, but even the righteous will do well to have a truth thought occasionally. Here's a truth thought, for instance: the two big issues in the CBS Pentagon show flap – and in the press generally at the moment – are propaganda and surveillance (propaganda from the Pentagon, surveillance from various guises of Big Brother), yet one needs to take only one quick little step away from Walter's holy freedom position to see that the masters of propaganda in this country are the broadcasters as well as the Pentagon people, and the masters of surveillance are the journalists as well as the FBI (I assume that the House subcommittee with the subpoena – now defied by CBS – will demonstrate no mastery).

Sorry, chums, if I seem to be momentarily siding with Spiro here, and with other prominent Washington residents over the years who have picked up a little paranoia about crusading journalists and other noble representatives of the "private sector" who would – and who would not? – change Washington. The decision-makers in Washington have had to live with such invaders since the town's founding, but the last decade has been the rough one. Talk about surveillance: no high public official has a private life worth two cents, no high public official is supposed to have secrets or even to make decisions in private. Fact of Washington: the press never settles for less than the *inside* story. Freedom for officialdom to make decisions without pressure, according to the sweet light of reason? Unheard of, except in security-ridden places (Pentagon, CIA, FBI) – and even there the secret federal will has obviously been sapped by constant attacks.

Washington's will waxes and wanes, but now it is at the lowest ebb ever. Furthermore we should not forget that in its most forceful eras Washington sometimes can't get as much as a dangling participle into law for months. In other words, Washington's history as Big Brother has been as much comic as fearsome. And one can argue that some of its worst Big Brotherness – which I do not wish to underestimate – has been caused by a *deficiency* of will in high places rather than the reverse, caused, that is, by conditions wholly unlike those imagined by Orwell. Successive administrations have descended upon Washington hoping to implant a will in its craw, as have generations of journalists, propagandists and ordinary citizens. Everybody at one time or another has wanted Washington to be strong but always to be strong on the invader's terms, with the result that Washington as a social and administrative organism, not to mention an organism with a bent for leadership, is now a mess.

I have qualms as I say these things. My own invader's terms for Washington are that the war stop and that the powers of the entrenched old American Way as represented by the Pentagon, the CIA and the FBI be reduced. If the elections in '72 do not move that-a-way I will be as sad as the most desperate crusaders. Also I share with Walter and the others the conviction that the press must be able to challenge the government of the US. Yet the plight of Washington as a decision-making center seems fully as important as these other more familiar issues; and the extent to which Washington's decision-making capacities are being ground to gravel by power-play invaders is ignored.

Can we not fight off an edgy administration's efforts to scare the likes of Walter and Eric, and at the same time fight the enormous new potential of the media to scare administrations? to govern indirectly? A small plague on both their houses. At this juncture it is extremely hard to say who is threatening whom most, but neither side can be praised for tolerance or breadth of vision. Meanwhile there's a country to run, and not just this administration but Washington itself is on the ropes.

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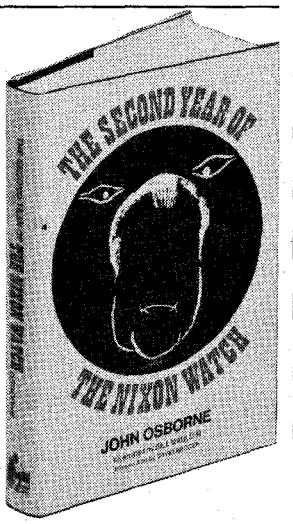

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Correspondence

Blueing

Sirs:

I should like to call attention to a revealing omission in the argument of Peter L. and Brigitte Berger's "The Blueing of America" (April 3).

In maintaining that the most likely consequence of the greening of the upper-middle classes will be the upward mobility of the lower-middle and working classes, they make repeated reference to the former's lack of self-confidence. The people who are needed to occupy the society's command posts and keep its engines running, they say, "will have to retain the essentials of the old 'Protestant Ethic' – discipline, achievement orientation, and also a measure of freedom from gnawing self-

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doubt." They will have to be "robust," by which the Bergers mean that their consciousness will extend "not only to a continuing achievement ethos, but to a self confidence not unduly worried by unending self-examination and by a basically intact faith in the possibilities of engineering reality."

What is it, then, that is weighing so heavily on the minds of the sons and daughters of the upper-middle classes that they have, despite their enviable advantages, dropped out of the race for the fruits of America? And why have the sons and daughters of the lower-middle and working classes been able to keep the faith? The answer to the first question, of course, is their awareness of the prospects of, e.g., ecological catastrophe and, especially, an all-out nuclear exchange. The answer to the second question is simply, "first things first"; i.e., when you are struggling to make ends meet you haven't much time to worry about the environment or the threat of nuclear holocaust. One can, therefore, understand why the "Blues" are free of self-doubt and why they have retained their faith in the possibilities of engineering reality. But to understand it is not to endorse it, especially if one is in a position to take a wider view of things.

Thus it is difficult to understand the Professorial Bergers' wholly unsupported, off-hand assertion that, "Despite the currently fashionable prophecies of doom for American society, we regard these eventualities as very unlikely." For why do these disciplined academics who, up to this point, have defended less controversial claims at length assume that this one is self-sufficient? How can they, or anyone else who thinks about it, toss off such a claim without a trace of "gnawing self-doubt"? The answer, I suggest, is that they have, throughout the entire essay, identified so closely with the Blues that they, like them, see no need for supporting argument here.

Although I have nothing against partisan essays, I am angered by those which attempt to disguise their point of view in the supposedly neutral trappings of social science. At two points the Bergers piously deny that they are involved in making any "value judgments." But they seem to have forgotten that, particularly in the social sciences, one needn't *express* value judgments in order to have made them.

Martin Benjamin
East Lansing, Michigan

Full of Air

Sirs:

Patrick J. Sloyan's article "Full of Air: The GM Mark of Intransigence" (March 27) on General Motors air cushion development program contains certain errors and omissions which should be set straight lest your readers draw false conclusions.

In my presentation to the press at the meeting in question, I outlined many of the problems associated with air cushions, but I also said, "Our experience indicates the air cushion system has more potential advantages than any other we (GM) know of, if it can be proven feasible for mass production." Because of the facts, that statement is necessarily cautious, but it is hardly a "denigration," to use Mr. Sloyan's word.

Also, Mr. Sloyan evidently misunderstood my comments at the dinner GM hosted for reporters that evening for he quoted me as saying, "We have 'five nines' for reliability." What I said then, and have said many times, is that GM's *goal* is to achieve a factor of four nines (.9999) for air cushion system reliability. With "1.000" representing perfection, .9999 would mean, at the most, one failure in 10,000 test cases. Because GM recognizes the vital service this safety device must perform, this stringent goal was entirely self-imposed. As of now we still have not reached our goal, even in laboratory and proving ground tests, let alone in production cars on public roads.

David D. Campbell
Director – Research and Development
Fisher Body Division
General Motors Corp.

Abating Power Needs

Sirs:

I was even more dismayed with Ralph Lapp's position after reading his response to David Policansky's letter (March 27). Americans must consider the consequences of meeting what they consider to be their needs. If "a dynamic economy and a high standard of living are geared to the kilowatt," and if there are arguments detailing why such dynamism and high standards cannot long prevail without ecological disaster, then we must question our values and "needs." That Mr. Lapp "doubt(s) very much that the American people would accept a limitation on power" simply does not meet the point of Mr. Policansky's argument. Are Americans aware of the consequences of not abating their "needs" – of not accepting limitation?

George M. Landon
Columbus, Ohio

Not for McGovern

Sirs:

A full-page advertisement in the April 10 edition of *The New Republic* by the Students for McGovern Committee stated that I had "endorsed the candidacy of Senator George McGovern" and was one of several "members of Students for McGovern chapters" around the nation. Although I have the highest personal regard for Senator McGovern and for the valuable service he is performing for the Democratic Party, I want to make it unequivocally clear that I have not endorsed McGovern's candidacy in the past, do not endorse it now, and have no plans to endorse it in the future. Those who know of my work in Ohio politics are aware that I have actively and openly supported Senator Harold Hughes for the Democratic Presidential nomination since November, 1970, and that I am chairman of the western Ohio Hughes for President chapter.

Keith Thompson
Lima, Ohio

Self-Evident Truths

Sirs:

There are many areas that need improvement in this country, but Nicholas Johnson overstates the case and distorts it ("The Life Party," April 10, 1971).

For example, he says, "The Declaration of Independence was founded on far-fewer and less-serious grievances than these." I re-read the Declaration of Independence and I see 27 separate statements regarding the colonists' grievances, including many extremely serious ones. . . . Mr. Johnson quotes the Declaration of Independence as saying, "Whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive . . . it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it. . . ." The Declaration of Independence doesn't say that. It says, in stating the truths that the

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signers held to be self-evident, "That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it. . . ." "These ends" includes much more than "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Mary A. Delsman

Kauffmann, *from page 22*

least boring. Again there is the sense that these post-*Weekend* methods are well suited to his temperament and that cartooning is best suited of all.

Why the feeling, then, that he's in exile? Certainly not because all his social criticisms are false. Godard would probably call my feeling (that he is exiled) the nostalgia in people like me for the traditions of bourgeois culture. True. But there is something more, there is regret. Regret that he has forsaken ambiguity for certainty. From the exile of that certainty, he sends us this latest defiant message.

The worst possible film to see after *Vladimir and Rosa* was *Saturday Morning*. It made me long for explosions. It deals with American teenagers and it's utterly sincere – not a cheap exploitation flick like *Making It*, of which I saw 20 minutes. But its very sincerity makes it more depressing.

A director named Kent Mackenzie selected 20 Los Angeles teenagers and a couple of adult questioners, and took them up to a nearby mountain resort. They sat under some trees and talked about themselves for six days, while Mackenzie and crew shot (in pleasant color). He edited the result into a bit less than 90 minutes of film.

It opens fairly interestingly. The teenagers improvise conversations between themselves and their parents, about taking a girl home from a date, that tell us something of their attitudes, not new but authentic. A Chicano boy is ingratiating, as he berates the other boys who talk about caring for a girl without wanting to sleep with her. His vitalism is a welcome relief from their received romantic pieties.

Then we're edited along to a big discussion of identity and the power to love, and I found myself increasingly miserable. All of these youngsters seem truthful enough – at least in the sense that they aren't lying. But I became more and more convinced that our society is educating its young people for group therapy as a vocation. One now learns reading, writing and encounter techniques. How adept they are at it. How easily they slip into the encounter circle, as their parents slipped into the campfire song circle. How easily they say, "Who am I? I don't know the real me." How skillfully they vie for the emotional spotlight, for the next breakdown into tears. (We don't see all the breakdowns, of course, but I'll bet that everyone had one. It's only fair.) How predictably the black youths say, "Bullshit." How adroitly the group's iconoclast waits for the perfect moment to break in with his standard remark that he's tired of all this intellectual crap.

And over it all hangs the pall of movie and TV dialogue. "For sixteen years I've been dead in my heart." "I can't go on." Etcetera.

Is there another society in the world in which a session like this would be possible? Is there another culture that has made the confessional so pop? That has turned the self into self-consciousness and honesty into a vogue?

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The May issue of Earth magazine takes you

- to the ruined beaches of San Francisco as 10,000 young volunteers try to make up for the corporate vandalism of Standard Oil:

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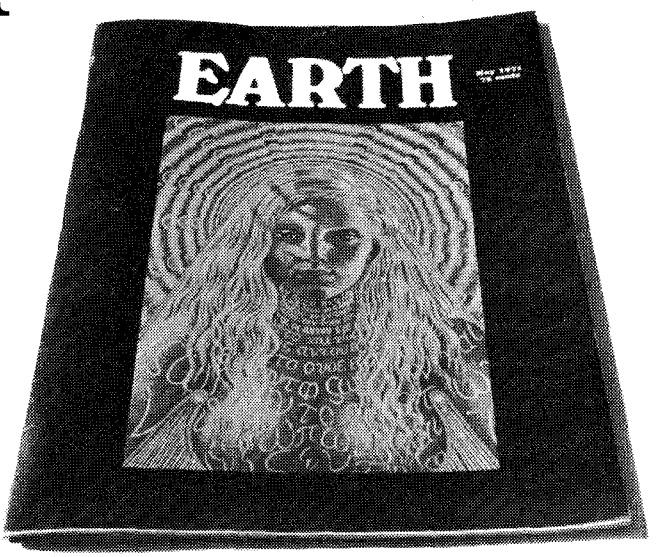

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As a small but integral part of the nation's power industry, we of America's rural electric systems are deeply concerned. We know our country cannot afford a cascading power failure situation.

As consumer-owned groups reflecting only the viewpoint of the people we serve, we believe we must, as a nation, take these steps—NOW:

- Develop a comprehensive *national* policy on resources and energy, which will ensure for all Americans—rural and urban alike—an adequate, dependable supply of electric power within a clean environment . . . and at reasonable rates.
- Launch a broad national research program for developing sources of electric energy to provide the reserve margins required . . . without exhausting fuel resources and without further damage to the climate in which we live.

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